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**translation
in medieval
bulgaria**

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Ashit Chakraborty



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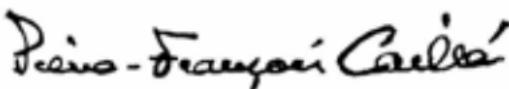
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*To my father who used to study
Panini and Koran.*

$$\begin{aligned} & \frac{\partial}{\partial x} \left(\frac{\partial u}{\partial x} \right) = \frac{\partial^2 u}{\partial x^2}, \\ & \frac{\partial}{\partial x} \left(\frac{\partial u}{\partial y} \right) = \frac{\partial^2 u}{\partial x \partial y}, \\ & \frac{\partial}{\partial y} \left(\frac{\partial u}{\partial x} \right) = \frac{\partial^2 u}{\partial y \partial x}, \\ & \frac{\partial}{\partial y} \left(\frac{\partial u}{\partial y} \right) = \frac{\partial^2 u}{\partial y^2}. \end{aligned}$$

FOREWORD

To the present and future of any human activity or profession, history is important. To translators Ashit Chakraborty's book is a valuable contribution. It shows us not only the past ways of translation but also the highroad we have to follow in the wake of our predecessors. The FIT and its President are proud and glad to recommend this work to its member societies and readers of Babel. In it they will find what the role of translation was in spreading religious and philosophical ideas of the past. It is a rich and complete study which shall contribute to better understanding between us, to create a new bond between the East and the West. And this is not the lesser merit of such a learned book.



(Pierre François Caillé)
President of FIT,
Vice-President of French
Society of Authors.

PRELUDE

In the beginning was the Word and the Word was in God and God was the Word.

John I : 1

A few years back I came to the conclusion that a history of world translation is necessary for a number of reasons. Some of the reasons, I have stated, in the manuscript of the first volume of my history dealing with the philosophical foundations of a theory of translation in ancient India. Since it will be published some day, I will not state them again in detail here.

It will suffice, however, if I say that a history of translation is a sine qua non for further research in any field of translation, whether in constructing a theory of translation, in isolating the formal elements for teaching principles of translation, or in finding out how society looked at translators and how translators looked at themselves and their work or how the great translation projects and organisations of the past were motivated, financed and organised.

Translators need a history if they really want to create a closeknit, socially useful and recognised professional body. Many of us are painfully aware how backward we translators are in this respect in comparison to the practisers of one of our kin professions, the librarians. I believe that because of this sense of profession, librarians have attained some of their achievements. I call my fellow translators to emulate them. The profession of Librarian has become today a specialised profession. To be a librarian you have to attend a special school or institute of Library Science. But it is supposed that anybody can be a translator with good knowledge of languages ! However nobody can be a translator just like that. The prospective translator has to grope his way to that of a professional after years and years of hard apprenticeship.

The time has come to shorten this period of apprenticeship.

But to make our society understand this we have yet to go a long way. We have to make translation a science in the beginnings and not only an art. The profession of librarians produced Dewey, Cutter, Sayers; Ranganathan, Kesavan. Time has come for the profession of translators to produce counterparts of these people. For this a history is necessary as there is no profession without a history, as history is a mirror in time, an image of our own consciousness, or our *raison d'être*.

However the history of translation is not a mere listing of translations done from the period of temple interlinear translations in Sumer to the organisation of the Israel translation programme. This history is the history of ideas, theories and conceptions of language and language philosophy, exegesis and textual criticism, thesaurus formation and philosophical classification from the day of the first enchantment with the world of words in the Vedas to the naive experiments in machine translation in the fifties of this century.

Nor is the history of translation only concerned with translation; like any social phenomenon the history of translation is a part of the history of culture and society.

I hope such a broad range of the notions of translation and its history would really invigorate the actual practice of translation.

As the eternal translator, my expedition, in prospect and retrospect, shall start with ancient India and then I shall journey far back to the valley of the fertile crescent to trace the origin of the great translators of the middle East : the Persians, Jews and Arabs. With Abraham and Moses I want to trace the tower of Babel legend, the linguistic concepts and training of the Jews from their masters, the Assyrians and Egyptians, to find the cause of their glibness in Aramaic. With Darius, I want to enumerate the diverse language speakers when he said,

"here is an Indian, here is a Medean, here is a Tigrakhuda" and identify the translators and interpreters in his court and evaluate their pay-scales. I would like to travel with Herodotus and Xenophon in Egypt and Persia and will rack my brains to find out how they managed their language affairs in foreign lands. Then I would come back to the great Buddha and his teachings flowing out of India, would follow the tales of Panchatantra entertaining the Persian vistiwalla, the Arab nomad, the Egyptian Fellahin and the Byzantine purpurogenitus alike. I will go to China with Dharma-Ruchi, will talk about the problem of which language to threaten effectively, the Khakhornis who had been stealing wives from civilised Niya-speaking Lipyea. I will cross the desert with Hiuen-Sang as I am dissatisfied with the old translations and will write down the Amitava's words from the horse's mouth. I will cross the Palk straits, go to Ceylon and again come to India to study the old masters. I will saddle my mules for Tibet and will discover Tibetan translations of lost Sanskrit classics and reconstruct them for eternal glory. I shall again rise with the sphinx that is Iran and join in the feast of Barmacides to bow down before Mohammed's Koran and the sword. I shall finish this journey in Vol. I and in Vol. II I shall start with a nativity song and now, reincarnated in Ptolemy Philadelphus, will request the Jewish Rabbis to come and translate the Testaments. For the Jews were always a clever people ! From Philo to Origin I will hear the Koine in Alexandria, write affected poetry, and collate the translations. Then the great Roman generals will order me to teach their sons Greek.

With Ruffinus and Jerome I will continue finding faults with the translations of the hellenised Jews and will raise my hands in horror of monstrous Hellenisms in the Roman translations. I shall sit at the court of Byzantium and interpret the embassies from Baghdad, Armenia, Egypt and from the land of the Goths. I will write tomes and tomes of theology and history and translate the "Crowned and the Follower". I shall plant Ulfila amongst the Goths and tell him to harangue the heathens with 'Mathi Likhita Susamachar' in broken Gothic. Blue-eyed and blonde, I will surprise the Romans by my chaste Latin even though I am a distant relation of the queen

Boedecia. With Alfred I shall translate into Anglo-Saxon as my teacher taught me to do. After a brief courtship with the Slavs in Bulgaria for five hundred years, I will translate with the Arabs the 'phalsapha' of Aristu in Baghdad and Toledo and learn to write grammars of Hebrew. I will send Albiruni to India to study the philosophy of Yoga. Time has come, however, to study some science. As the renaissance and reformation starts I must translate Euclid and Aristotle from Arabic into Latin as I do not know any Greek. German I speak only with my horse and I prohibit all translations of the Bible into the Vulgate. But with Abelard I go on roaming in the 'nations' of Europe and raise Cathedral Schools into Universities. I grow rich in Venice and Genoa and trade with the gruff merchants of the Hanseatic League. I welcome the Arabic Euclid and Algorithm, as, to build ships I must learn new Sciences for my profit. With Dante and Erasmus I study old Latin verse, take lessons in Greek, write florentian, the tongue of my mother city, and translate the Bible from Hebrew and Greek. So that Luther can boast of his inspired translation as a gift of God. 'Nations' now rise in the Europe, the English fight with Spain and France and "Tu, felix Austria, nube—and you, happy Austria, wed." Portugal shows the way but Britannia rules the waves. From Cathay to Mexico the European trader and privateer is followed by the preacher. At home in Europe they acquire the curious taste for thousands of languages and the Chinese language inspires both the mathematics of Leibniz, and the theory of language teaching of Comenius. By now Latin has died and our national languages want their independence and universality in one single breath. Newton writes his third book in English and French becomes the court language of Europe. After a cursory glance at Russia I now begin to lay the base of a solid translation activity in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries. I go to Africa, China, Tahiti, learn the languages of the countries and prepare dictionaries. I write Science in my mother tongue and become involved in building formal and universal languages. I develop with Leibniz the Calculus Ratiocinator, with Bishop Wilkins Character-writing. I translate "give us this day our daily bread" for the Eskimo and wonder whether it should be "Give us this day our daily fish." In Petersburg I prepare the

-dictionary of world languages. But enough of wondering in foreign lands! I come back to my native India when the Arabs are replaced by Persian-Turk invaders: and Pathan rulers rule my land. I babble in all the modern languages of India. The Apabhramsa state is over. Sanskrit dominates but below the surface the mother tongue gains ground. Sāyaṇa wants to dazzle the Muslim onslaught with his brilliant paraphrase-translation of the Vedas. The Persians translate their Avesta into Sanskrit to show their Bramhin brethren that they are not exactly followers of Koran. Persian and Sanskrit become court language with Muhammed-bin-Tughlak printing coins with legends in both languages. The Mughals speak in Persian and Urdu and Amir Khusro already wrote poetry in Persian and Urdu. Muslim rulers do not know Sanskrit, so they commission me to translate Ramayana and Mahabharata into Persian. Soon rulers in Bengal forget Persian. Their ladies know only Bengali so I again translate Ramayana and Mahabharata into Bengali. I do not object to it, however, as it suits my purpose. The renaissance of India has started and the new humanism of Guru Nanak, Kabir, Chaitnya and Tukaram clears the path for a free flow of mother tongues and I can state old religions with a new interpretation. In Tulsi, Ram the God becomes Ram the man. The Southerner's get their Kamba Ramayana and Alaol translates Malik Jaisi from Hindi to Bengali. The Muslim rulers want a 'Din-e-ilahi' and translate the Upanishads into Persian and I serve in the translators' Committee. But the gunboats of the Portuguese disturbs my work and I hurriedly jot down the Persian stories in Hindi and Bengali. Kissā Hatem-tai and Totakahini become my favourite books. However the Europeans are clever people. The servants of East India Company learn Hindi, Bengali, Persian, Arabic in Calcutta. Anquitil du Perron studies Avesta in a Persian Madrasa in Bombay and translates it into French, though with plenty of mistakes. An English translator finds Sanskrit, Greek and Latin to be sister languages. I, Ram Bose, the munshi of Carey Saheb, assist him translate the Bible into Hindi, Bengali and Assamese. Mr. Carey and the Serampore Missionaries started to write books in Bengali prose, printed the first Bengali books. In Europe Champollion reads three of the Egyptian hieroglyphics on the Rosetta Stone, Rawlinson reads old Persian,

Prinsep reads the Bramhi Script. I, too, have now to translate from those old unknown languages. Raja Ram Mohan Roy learns Sanskrit, Persian, Tibetan and English. He translates from Sanskrit and writes a Grammar of Bengali. And I here close with my 2nd volume.

We are now at the threshold of the modern age and welcome it in my 3rd volume.

After such a lyric introduction to my scheme I now devote myself to the present work. Here I beg to apologise for the anachronism in my publication. To many it may appear that to publish volume 2 part four before volume I is published is to put the cart before the horse.

But the reasons are as follows: The material was ready while I was still in Bulgaria. This year has been chosen by Unesco to celebrate the 1100th anniversary of the death of Constantine-Cyril creator of the Slav script. The Slavic brothers Cyril and Methodius were also great translators. Therefore I found this year most auspicious and appropriate for dedicating this work to these two great Saints. This is another reason for my haste.

As far as I am concerned translation in Mediéval Bulgaria is complete by itself as I will go no further. And to some extent I was able to go very near the original sources though I am satisfied in my history if I can judiciously use all the secondary source materials. On the other hand my study of translation in Ancient India, Middle East and Greco-Latin world is still continuing though I have published individual articles on these parts of the world. Here I am haunted by a sense of incompleteness and feel that I should work more for a number of years and then make other parts of the two volumes—print worthy. I want to prepare first, an orientational, tentative scheme of the development of world translation so that it can be used as guideline, a frame of reference by me later or by other researchers in the history of translation. But the Bulgarian part is ready, hence I hurry to publish it.



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INTRODUCTION

*Anādinidhānam bramha śabdatattam yad akṣaram
vivartate' rthabhāvena prakriyā jagato yataḥ.*

Bhartṛhari : vākyapadiya

*[The whole phenomena of material existence is only
an appearance of the speech-essence which is identical
with the ultimate reality, Bramha.]*

Historians hold that by the end of the 6th century a flood of Slavic population engulfed the whole of the Balkan Peninsula. During this period the Slavs were also organising themselves in tribal units under the leadership of a military aristocracy having considerable political and economic power. They were also successful in assimilating and Slavianising the older inhabitants of the peninsula, the Indo-European Thracians and Illyrians and to some extent the Danubian Dacians. In the 7th century a confederacy of the seven Slavic tribes in Misia, south of Danube, became politically active. Complete political sway of the Slavs over the Balkan Peninsula was, however, blocked by Imperial Byzantium, which already ruled the Slavic tribes in Aegian Thracia and Macedonia and were against all unification policy of the Slavs.

Against such a historical backdrop the proto-Bulgarians appeared in the Danubian region. Proto-Bulgarians were related to the Huns and Avars and were the forerunners of later-day Tatars and Turks.

Khan Asparukh with his Bulgarian horsemen crossed the Danube in about 670 A.D., and, united with the leaders of the confederacy of the seven Slavic tribes, organised in-roads into the territories of Byzantium. Thus the first Slaviano-Bulgarian state was curved out with its capital in Pliska in north Bulgaria (681 A.D.). The Bulgarians were soon assimilated by the Slavs

by marriage and other processes and forgot their language. The present day Bulgarian language is purely Slavic with only about ten Bulgarian words. Of these one word is 'Bulgaria' itself. Khan Krum and Omurtag led successful policies of expansion and the first stages of a feudal state were solidly built. By the ninth century the whole of north Bulgaria and parts of Macedonia were under the Khans who destroyed the political power of the Slavic tribes and created a centralised feudal state supported by feudal Bolyars. In 865 A.D., Khan Presiam adopted Christianity and ordered full-scale baptism of the subjects. The newly baptised Prince Presiam Boris I's order was swiftly carried out and the first Slavic feudal Christian state entered the community of other European states. Khan Presiam became Prince Michael Boris I.

The foundation of the Bulgarian Church organisation was laid. However Boris I's correspondence with the Pope of Rome and the Patriarch of Constantinople was not successful. The Church congregation of Constantinople in 870 A.D. permitted the Bulgarian Church to have an archbishop under the august surveillance of the Byzantine Patriarch. With the adoption of Christianity, the flood gates of Byzantine culture were opened to swamp fertile Bulgaria. Religious ritual, arts and architecture, literature and statecraft, in short, the source of all civilisation for Bulgaria was Byzantium. Simultaneously swept away and irritated, grateful and hostile, because of this foreign spiritual domination, Bulgarians always remained a nation ambivalent in their attitude to all things foreign.

A very important effect of Christianity was the harrowing down of the tribal differences due to different tribal pagan religions as well as the distance between the Bulgarians and the Slavs. The process of a uniform Bulgarian nationalisation was complete now.

The new religion demanded a new literature, a written literature, for training of monks and feudals. First rudiments of this written literature were the translations made from Greek into old Bulgarian written in a script called Cyrillic because of its connection with the founders of Slavic script and literature, the great saint brothers Cyril and Methodius of the Slavs.

Preslav, the capital of the Bulgarian princes, became an important centre for translation. Prince Boris I himself started these translation programmes. An unending stream of translation activity from the start of the 1st Bulgarian empire flowed to its last developments in the Second Bulgarian state, though partially stifled, in between, during the Byzantine slavery. This vast mass of translated literature is of special importance to the historian of translation as it helps in confirming certain generalisations about the history of translation and provides a vast virgin field of research in bilingual translation which might provide many unexpected results and answers to the serious questioner.

The study of the Bulgarian translations during the first Bulgarian empire emphatically confirms the truth that translation has important cultural and historical significance and catalyses the development and formation of the language into which one translates (target language), it enlivens and enriches the target language, and, at a certain stage, it stabilises, fixes and normalises the selection and nature of the standard literary dialect or language. In every translational contact where the donor language is far more developed than the acceptor language the problems intimately connected with the nature of the poorer mother tongue require urgent pragmatic but theoretically sound solutions. The problems of lexical, phraseological, grammatical and stylistical nature of the mother tongue assumes by far an enormous importance and complexity compared to which problems of the language, from which translations are done (source language), may even be of diminished importance and may be easily solved.

The old Bulgarian literature began its development with translated books and literature and soon achieved an unparalleled flourish (IX-X). At a later stage the Bulgarian translators not only translated canonical books, they also translated stories, tales, chronicles and legends with secular contents. Before the Bulgarian translators was the creative and thrilling task: consciously and intelligently to create a new literary language on the basis of one of the old Bulgarian dialects.

To create a language, which had no literary standards, no scientific and abstract vocabulary and no sophisticated rhetoric and stylistic mechanism, is no easy task. But the Bulgarian translators successfully resolved the tasks set before them. They were fine linguists, knew and mastered the Greek language well. They were wonderful connaisseurs of their mother tongue, did much linguistic hard thinking on the nature of their language, and, therefore, knew fully well its hidden potentialities. When necessary, they created innovations and neologisms, loans and loan-blends, loan-translations and stylistic loans and thus accumulated a huge translation stock in the Bulgarian language which made the penetration of abstract thought and knowledge of the Greeks, the cultural inheritance of the whole civilised Orient, into Bulgarian and then to other Slavic languages like Russian and Serbo-Croatian so smooth. The Bulgarian translators created and codified the orthographic, stylistic and grammatical norms of the old Bulgarian language and thus made it the classical language of the Slavdom. The Bulgarian translations fully support the view expressed in a special issue of Babel that "it is by translation of sacred texts that new languages have been produced and that new languages have come into being".

The Bulgarian translations again were easily exported to other Slavic countries and at different turns of the history imprinted a lasting effect on the literature of these countries. The translators and literary workers of other Slavic countries were inspired by the Bulgarian translators. The Bulgarian translations became the first literary wealth of many Slavic countries. The literature of Russia, Serbia, Czecho-Moravia and even Rumania owe so much to the Bulgarian translations. For centuries, the first translators, Cyril and Methodius, inspired the Slavic scholars. The fugitive scholars of Trnovo continued their literary activities in Russia, Serbia and Rumania. Especially important is the connection of Russian literature with that of Bulgaria. Apart from the script devised by the Bulgarian saints Cyril and Methodius which the Russians use today, Russia was considerably indebted to Bulgaria which was Christianised before the former. Of course, the nearness of language was a great helping factor in this communion. The activities of the Kiev-Rus prince and bibliophile, Iaroslav the wise, is comparable

to that of Czar Simeon. The activities of the circle of Kilifarevo monastery in the Second Bulgarian empire preceded the literary and cultural work of the scholars of the Crypt monastery in Kiev. Patriarch Euthemius was interested in suppressing heresy and upholding the right religious dogma. That was why he started with the revision of old translations and orthographic reforms. With the same high ideal was imbued Nikon of Russia, though because of his overzealousness, he estranged number of good Russians and brought a Schism into the Russian Church. Earlier, Maxim the Greek, started a revision of translation in Russia. The heretics of Russia were surely the students of the Bulgarian Bogomil heretics. Ukraine started its renaissance movement in the beginning of the modern age by paying tribute to the great Slavic saints.

The heretical literature of Bulgaria also influenced the heresies of Western Europe. The tales of Romance from the East and West flowed through the Bulgarian soil. Some of them along with the Damaskin literature formed the first bases of a popular literature in Russia.

The study of Bulgarian translations is important from another point of view. In Christian Europe, the first translation activity was started by the Greeks and even that too was organised by the Ptolemy Dynasty in Alexandria. The Romans, in their turn, translated Greek literature of religious, secular or philosophical nature into Latin. By the time the different West European nations were formed, translation was done only from Latin. With the suffocating rise of Latin, even that trickle stopped. The only exception was the translation into Anglo-Saxon. But even there the ancient Greek philosophers like Aristotle, Plato and others were more or less banned or highly Christianised. Thus, West Europe knew of some of the accepted steam-rolled versions of the Greek philosophers in the writings of the Scholastics. The dark age in Western Medieval Europe set in by then. But this was not the case of Bulgaria. When the rest of Europe was in darkness, Bulgaria, through its translators, was in direct contact even with the pagan Greek thought and moreover was located near the rich and diverse culture of the Byzantine Greeks. The Bulga-

rians were consciously aware of the role of translation, linguistic study in Greece, in Byzantium and amongst the Jews and Arabs. Thus feudal states of the Bulgarians and Russians in this respect might have been more forward than some of the West European nations. This may, however, offend some of our professors of history for whom the history of Europe is confined to West Europe. They have included grudgingly the history of Russia from Peter the Great in the history courses as that was allowed by the English historians whom we copy. As if the whole landmass from Elb to Ural was desolate wilderness only to be magically populated by Peter the Great !

The Bulgarian translators were aware of their role of teachers to the nation. It was knowledge that they hankered for, because they knew that it can come swiftly to the mass of the people only through translation, because they knew that in the long run knowledge can be disseminated only by means of the mother tongue understandable by all.

They were not satisfied only with the translation of religious literature. Secular literature was also avidly translated by them. With the rise of a feudal class with a minimum of culture, with a developed taste for statecraft, spare time, the necessity of secular popular literature and that of scientific and mathematical literature was felt more and more. This was the cause of the translation of secular literature. In a way, Bulgarian translators were also concerned with the problems of technical translation and the study of their translations predict the trend in the formation of technical terminology and nomenclature not only in Bulgarian but also in other Slavic languages.

The study of the history of translation in Russia and other Slavic countries should, therefore, be logically preceded by a study of Bulgarian translation. Here lies the significance of the Medieval Bulgarian translations for the historian.



THE BEGINNINGS OF BULGARIAN TRANSLATION IN THE FIRST BULGARIAN EMPIRE

*He who first sang the five gathas of the righteous
Splitama Zarathustra according to their stanzas and
their sentences distinguishing their high and low tones.*

Avesta

The primary phase in the translation activity of the Bulgarians started with the Christianisation of Bulgaria by Boris I of the 1st Bulgarian empire. By the time of Simeon, the amount of this translated literature was considerable and Simeon's circle of translators were masters of their trade. All this translation activity was started and inspired by the two great saint brothers, Cyril and Methodius, who, however, worked not exactly in Bulgaria but in Byzantium and Moravia. Therefore, an outline of the life and activities of these two great men is compulsory to understand the history of Bulgaria and the history of the Bulgarian translation.

Cyril was the creator of the Slavic alphabet. But he did not stop with the creation of it. How can an elaborate form be built and then remain empty? The great saints of Bulgarian origin started a movement that aimed at filling this beautiful form with a harmonious content. The backward nations of the Slavic ethos felt, at that time, a strong need of religious and political cohesion, a need of enlightenment to support this cohesion, for through ignorance a nation becomes prey to the superior, more-knowing and more-organised nations. Knowledge was highly valued and Cyril, also the first Bulgarian poet, could write,

"Naked are nations without books."

When the work of Cyril and Methodius was crushed by the German ecclesiastic intrigue in Moravia, their persecuted disciples found shelter in recently baptised Bulgaria, the first Slavic Christian state forging unity and cohesion. At this time, the Slavs in the Balkans and in East Europe were trying to preserve a delicate balance of power between Imperial Byzantium dominated by Greek religion and culture and the Roman Catholic Church led later by the German feudal and ecclesiastical "Drang nach osten" (Pressure towards East). The disciples Kliment, Naum and Angelarii continued literary and religious activities in Bulgaria and soon Bulgarian literature and culture blossomed in bright colours in the "golden age" of Simeon. The two brothers created an original, artistic and religious literature in Greek and Bulgarian. The songs and poems of Cyril in Old Bulgarian are evidence to this. Cyril was equally fluent in Greek composition. In connection with the discovery of the remains of the St. Kliment of Rome, Cyril wrote three separate pieces in Greek : a small history, Oratorical sermon about the Saint and a hymn in his honour. Anastasius the Librarian in his letter to Gauderikh Veletrius, while recommending Cyril's power of the pen, says that he translated the first two prose-pieces into Latin but he did not touch the hymn as he felt himself "powerless" to transmit the rhythm of it.

Just as the two saint brothers were responsible for the beginning of a creative and original literature, so also the translated literature made its beginning from their pens. The "Lives" of Cyril and Methodius, written by his disciples and later generation translators, paid tribute to these two first great translators. The unknown biographer of Cyril says: "At once he composed the letters and began to write down the evangelic message—In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with the God and God was the Word". The same biographer writes that after the death of the younger brother Cyril, the beloved brother and the leader, the older Methodius devoted himself completely to translation activities. He writes: "Afterwards, when he removed himself from all noise and surrendered his sorrows to God he elected two of his students as scribes—swift writers and within six months—starting from March up to the 26th day of October, quickly translated from

Greek to Slavic all the Books completely except Maccabees". Methodius also translated the Greek works of his brother Cyril.

Cyril the philosopher, earlier translated only the psalter, the evangelie with the Apostles and selected Church services. He translated the Nomo-canons i.e. the legal rules and the books of the fathers (Pateriks). Cyril was also supposed to have translated a Hebrew grammar. The work of these two brothers was continued to its logical climax by Ioan Ekzarkh, the most brilliant translator of the first Bulgarian empire, the first conscious and serious worker in the field of translation and language philosophy, concentrating much time on the theory and practice of translation.

The translation activity of the Bulgarians in the 1st Bulgarian empire was not, however, carried out in a vacuum. The Balkan Peninsula was from the time immemorial inhabited by different linguistic groups in close contact and was always an ideal breeding ground of linguist-polyglots, interpreters and translators. The original inhabitants like the Thracians and Illyrians were in close contact with Greek language and culture. The Greek colonies in the Bulgarian Black Sea coast, and Aegian Thracia were highly flourishing trading cities with mixed population of Thracians and Greeks. Most of the cultured Thracians were bilinguals knowing Greek very well and used the Greek alphabet for writing their language. Thracians must have been in close contact with the Achaemenian Persia and other Indo-Europeans of Asia minor and we can imagine the presence of Thracian interpreters in the court of the Achaemeneans. The Macedonians themselves were completely Hellenised Illyrians and the proper Greeks always treated them with contempt as barbarians. During the beginnings of the third century, the Balkan Peninsula was under the Romans and the Thracians, Misians and the Illyrians and even the Dacians north of the Danube were Romanised and were forgetting their languages and speaking vulgar Latin. This happened in most of the Roman towns south of the Danube. Along with these languages the autochthonous population of the Balkan Peninsula could also listen to the languages of the Huns, Sarmathians,

and Avars and the tribal Slavic languages of the Antes and Venetis. The camp of the Hun Leader Attila was full of Slav people and Slavic language was heard and Slavic rituals were performed in his camp. This was testified by a Roman ambassador. We can imagine Romans to pick up the Thracians, Misians and Dacians as the best interpreters in their dealings with the Huns. The proto-Bulgarian camp of the Khans in Danubian region must have been full of Slavic bilinguals. However, the proto-Bulgarians soon forgot their own language and began to speak Slavic. The other non-Slavic Indo-European tribes also forgot Greek and vulgar Latin and adopted Slavic Bulgarian as their mother tongue. But the influence of the culturally and politically superior Imperial Byzantium became ever stronger and stronger amongst these tribes and Greek became the official language of diplomacy, a lingua franca in the mutual correspondence of the various tribes and nations. Even the Varangians and Russians came under this Greek influence. It is logical to presume that the Bulgarian Slavs and Slavianised Thracians, being in permanent and constant touch with both the cultures of the nomadic empires and Byzantium, were the fittest to work as scribes, translators, interpreters and linguist-polyglots in the courts of the two powers. Therefore, the fact that Cyril and Methodius, speaking a Slavic language and knowing excellent Greek were born in the city of Solun or Salonica, is no accident of history.

The Bulgarian Khans in their official correspondence used Greek language. Thus the first inscriptions of the Bulgarian Khans, the famous manuscript "List of kingly names", were written in Greek, the official language of state. This list of names or 'imennik' was soon translated into Slavic (Bulgarian).

The Byzantines were also neighbours of the great languages of the East. In the very beginning, Byzantium and Pahlavi speaking Persian empire were contemporaries. Byzantium saw the rise and fall of the Syriac language. The Jews were its subjects, Khazars were its rivals and finally the greatest race of translators—the Arabs—became its serious rivals in the ninth century. Therefore, apart from the old Greek translations, the Byzantium empire had a tremendous polyglot

-experience and translational contact and was the breadgiver of a large number of interpreters, polyglot-linguists, scholars and grammarians. Cyril was trained in this atmosphere.

Written translation especially the translation of sacred literature had an established tradition by Cyril's time. The translation of the Bible under Ptolemy and the lores connected with this translation inspired and guided number of translation projects in different countries, in the Latin speaking world, in Asia, in Christian Ethiopia and in Coptic Egypt. Amongst the German-Goths the religious preachings and the translation of the bible by Bishop Ulfila is an important landmark in the history of translation in Eastern Europe. Ulfila was of Greek descent and the Goths lived side by side with the Slavs. Many Gothic words in Slavic and in Russian testify to this fact.

Cyril and Methodius were brilliant scholars, deeply religious, and steeped in the lore and historical knowledge of that era and it is not, therefore, impossible to conjecture that Cyril knew about the problems of creation of a new alphabet, a new written language and the problems of the Bible translation due to his acquaintance of the experiences of his predecessor translators of Greek, Jewish, Roman and Gothic extraction. He surely knew about the translation experiment of Ulfila and theories of translation of the Great Latin translators, Jerome and Ruffinus. His biography mentions about his acquaintance with the translations of the Greek translator Aquila. It may be possible that Cyril might not have known earlier about the above Latin translators but there is no doubt that after his embassy to the Pope of Rome and his successful defence of preaching Christian religion through the medium of mother tongue against the "trilingualists" he must have come to know about Jerome and Ruffinus.

Ulfila's translations have been compared with their original source by modern scholars giving a crop of factual data having a relevancy to the history and theory of translation. Unfortunately, no such research could be carried out with the translations of Cyril and Methodius because of the fact that their translations in the original form are not available today.

Therefore an idea of their translation theories and practices are to be made only from indirect sources.

Educated in philosophy, theology, geometry, arithmetic and grammar in the famous 'Magna Ur' School (equivalent to an university whose final degree is that of 'philosopher' probably like our doctorate), Cyril had extensive training and contact with other languages. He was appointed first the Librarian of the Library of the Church of St.Sofia and later sent with an embassy to the Caliph of Bagdad (851 A. D.) to explain certain points of the Christian dogma. Later, along with Methodius, he was sent as the leader of a religious mission to the country of the Khazars in South Russia. By origin a Bulgarian-Macedonian Slav, he knew Slavic well, as the emperor himself told, "you are from Solun and we know the Solun people speaks pure Slavonic", when he was sent to Moravia to preach religion in Slavic in an answer to the request of the Moravian prince to the Byzantine emperor. His knowledge of Greek was superb. His polyglot experience had an extensive range. We are not sure whether he knew Arabic, probably he did not. At least, we can guess that Georgy who was sent with him as a secretary to Arabia probably knew Arabic and, therefore, must have been his interpreter. But Cyril's Arabia visit must have sharpened his linguistic capacity. In Kherson, amongst the Khazars, he learnt Hebrew quickly. Modern scholars agree that he knew Hebrew well. His translation of the book of Hebrew grammar is one of the evidences. Cyril's life tells us about his linguistic prowess, his skill just like a fieldworker of today, in the following two episodes from his Kherson visit.

"Here lived some Samarian..... He brought Samarian Books and showed them to him (Cyril). The philosopher (Cyril) borrowed these and then he secluded himself in his room and then devoted himself to prayer. And when he got illumination from the God himself, he began to read the books without any error.

* * * * *

Here he found the Bible and Psalter written in 'Roski' letters and a man speaking this language. As he conversed with him and mastered the essence (Force or strength in literal

translation ?) of the tongue, he differentiated the vowel and the consonant letters in respect to his speech. And after he prayed to God he quickly began to read and tell what was there and many people were wonder-struck and glorified God".

The medieval writer could explain such linguistic talent only due to divine grace.

This extensive range of experience in the language diversities of the world of Babel was mainly responsible for Cyril's unshakable belief in the use of the mother tongue, for hearing the word of God in the mother tongue.

Admirable and shining, he looks at us from his height when he thunders against the 'trilingualists' who preached that God's words were fit to be couched only in three languages, i.e. Hebrew, Greek and Latin.

He announced :

"Doesn't God send rain equally upon all? Doesn't the sun shine upon all? Don't we breathe air in the same way? How are you not ashamed when you accept only three languages and then order all other nations and tribes to be blind and deaf. Explain to me, do you think God as weak that he cannot give all these or he is envious that he does not wish? What about many nations we know, who understand the Books? All of them glorify the Book in their own languages. The following people are known. Armenians, Persians, Avazgians, Iberians, Sogdeans, Goths, Avars, Tirsians, Khazars, Arabs, Egyptians, Syrians and many other".

The same awareness of the necessity of linguistic science, of language books, grammars and lexicon etc. for the training of a translator inspired Cyril to translate the Jewish book of Grammar—"The eight parts of the grammar". We know the Jews in those days had an enormous contribution to lexicology and grammar. In a way, they produced the first systematic rudimentary "contrastive linguistics", a part of which is the theory and science of any bilingual translation.

Cyril, Methodius and his disciples were fluent or acquainted well with three languages—Greek, Slavonic (i. e. old Bulgarian) and Latin. With their sojourn in Moravia, Rome and Panonia the Slavic teachers' mastery of Latin increased very much. When Methodius was dying in Velegrad in 885 A.D., he selected his heir amongst the pupils by choosing Gorazd and he said, "this is a free man of your land well-acquainted with Latin books and is a right-believer". Biographers say also that when Methodius died his funeral services were conducted in Latin, Greek and Slavic.

Some ideas about the philosophy of symbols of Cyril may be obtained from his debate with the icon-hater, former Patriarch Ioan the Grammarian. When Ioan asks why an icon with half the figure (i. e. painted upto the breast) is honoured while a broken cross is not worshipped, and why crosses of different shapes and sizes need not have inscriptions while icons without inscription cannot be worshipped, Cyril answers that if the four sides of the cross are lacking it is no longer a cross but the icon still represents the person who was originally painted in it. All crosses, big or small, have the same form, a manifestation of the Cross of Christ, but the icons do not carry the figure of the identical person. This proves that Cyril could distinguish the two conceptions: (1) that of picture symbol, (2) that of the sign symbol. Do these views on the nature of symbols mean that Cyril possessed some sort of theory of symbols as a basis to a philosophy of language?

Cyril is an interesting prototype of a master translator and his life, education and training show us the elements that are necessary for the intellectual and spiritual makeup of an inspired translator. We find that translators are the first people who because of their polyglot experience understand the need of their own people. They often created the basis of a new literature. And because they easily find that other people and nations produced a flourishing literature they become confident that their own people will also create the same. The beginnings of the Bulgarian translation remind us also of a truth that the smaller or more underdeveloped a nation is, the bigger is the necessity of translation and translators in that nation.

The life, work and teachings of Cyril and Methodius are comparable and comprehensible with those of the great Indian religious leaders like Buddha, Chaitanya and Nanak. Another figure in India is Atis-Dipankara-Srijnāna whose life and work is similar to that of Cyril. Cyril in Moravia and Dipankara in Tibet have many wonderful things in common. Through the work of Cyril and his brother we understand more the Slavic nations, feel a basic kinship with them because we all passed and are passing through similar struggle for our languages and culture. In India struggle for the full development of our languages has not yet finished. People with vested interest and others still believe in the monopoly and holy nature of English. But their resistance and ignorance cannot in the long run obstruct the rising tide of our languages. Those who are trying to resist it are only fools and in the words of Cyril are only trying to "break iron mountains with skulls of bone".



SIMEON AND HIS CIRCLE OF TRANSLATORS IN THE FIRST BULGARIAN EMPIRE

*"Why do you remind me always of the Greeks,.....
we do not believe the Greeks, we believe in Jesus".
Ivan the Terrible.*

The disciples of Cyril and Methodius could produce a Christian clergy and large number of people who could read and write in Bulgaria. Two important literary schools developed: one in Preslav, the capital of the 1st Bulgarian empire and another in Okhrid in Macedonia. Both were manned and inspired in the beginning by the disciples of Cyril and Methodius. The Preslav school produced translations and an adaptive literature—the originality of which lay in their selection and adaptation for the satisfaction of the needs of Bulgaria as a national state. The Okhrid school on the other hand organised a massive educational drive unparalleled in its high pedagogic values and democratic character. It also produced an original literature in a popular language. The organiser of the Okhrid school, Kliment, could write both in the simple and the high-flown style with equal fluency. He was also a translator. He translated the Pentecostar from Greek into Bulgarian. However, for the purpose of the history of translation, the Preslav school is much more interesting.

As discussed earlier, the translation activities started with the baptism of Bulgaria under Prince Boris I (865 A. D.). If the previous Bulgarian Khans were using Greek as their official and administrative language, old Bulgarian now became the dominant language.

During the reign of Czar Simeon, the son of Boris I, Bulgaria attained the zenith of its glory. Simeon introduced a

policy of expansion which was identical to the realisation of the spirit of nationhood. The arch-enemy to this national urge were the Byzantine Greeks, the same people from whom Bulgarians got their religion. During Simeon's rule, the capital Preslav had flourishing culture and the old Bulgarian literature attained its highest level under the leadership of writers like Ioan or Ivan Ekzarkh, Bishop Konstantin of Preslav (Konstantin Preslavski), Chernorizets Khrabru (Monk Khrabru)*. All of them were great translators. We do not know, of course, about the translation activity of Khrabru. But what we know from his brilliant defence of the Slavic alphabet is enough to understand his positive role towards literature in Bulgarian. This prose piece, in terse but lucid style, discusses the necessity of the Slavic alphabet and the phonetic difference between the Greek and Bulgarian languages that caused this necessity. He writes :

"Before, the slavs had no books and being pagans they read and comprehended by means of cuts and marks.

When they were baptised they were obliged to write the Slavic tongue in Roman and Greek letters without any system. But how could they write well in Greek letters : Bogu or Zivotu or dzelo or ckuvi or cajanije, or sirota or jadu or odu or jezyku and others like them".

Khrabru knew very well the history of the Greek alphabet and the history of translation of the religious literature. He knew that the Greek alphabet was not autochthonous but was borrowed from the Phoenicians. Moreover its present shape and number of letters did not emerge in a completed form but had to pass through different phases of history. New letters were introduced at different stages and, that too, often in a chaotic manner.

For him, neither Greek nor Hebrew can claim the honourable position of the original language of mankind. It is Syriac (Armaic) that is fit for such an honour. After the destruction

*Chernorizets means black-shirt - the dress of the monks.

of the Tower of Babel, with the confounding of languages, different languages came into the world. Therefore, the superiority of Hebrew or Greek as the first language cannot be acknowledged. Neither the Greeks nor the Jews should be commended for the creation of all knowledge. Here, two different nations of the civilised Orient had their contributions and specialisations. "To the lot of Egyptians fell geometry, Chaldeans and Assyrians developed astronomy, astrology, doctoring and witch-craft and all other artisanships, the Jews made the holy books and cosmogony whereas the Greeks gave grammar, rhetoric and philosophy". [Centuries later the German Romantic philosophers acknowledged the fact that all nations are equal and all of them gave or will give equally important contributions to the world culture]. The development of the alphabet and translation of the holy books in the Greek world arose out of the work of many people and many unconscious factors, whereas the creation of Slavic alphabet and the Slavic translations are the work of one single genius, a staunch Christian with definite, concrete and conscious ideology.

"Thus many people for many years together could hardly gather 38 letters.

After that, however, many years passed, and under God's command 70 men were found who translated (the holy writing) from Hebrew to Greek. But the Slavic books were created by St. Constantine named Cyril alone as they were translated and the alphabets created within a few years. They were many, 7 people for many years created the letters and 70 people the translations. Therefore, the Slavic letters are holier and worthier of respect and honour as a holy man created them whereas the Greek letters were created by the pagan Greeks." Khrabru was really giving here a theoretical bias to the nationalistic anti-Greek policy of Simeon.

As regards the quality of these translations Khrabru agrees that corrections and revisions of them are still going on but that does not belittle the translation activity of Cyril. He argues quite effectively.

"If any one again argues that they were not created well, otherwise why efforts are still being done (for revision), then we shall give the following answer; the Greek (letters and translations) were also revised many times, revised by Aquila and Symachus and later by many others.* As it is easier to revise and trim later than to create for the first time."

The inspirer of the Preslav School was Czar Simeon himself. Three works of compilative character being translations from Greek have been ascribed to his patronage. In one of them called the 'Svetoslav' compilation the anonymous translator in the introduction praises Simeon's translational and library organisational work. For his collection of books and things of wisdom he compared Simeon with a 'diligent bee'. According to the anonymous translator, for his wisdom, his love of books, his efforts to collect or write more books Simeon became almost a new "Ptolemy". The anonymous translator writes in a rhythmic style.

"Great amongst the Czars Simeon

Omnipotent, Sovereign and Ruler striving with a great desire

* Aquila was born in Synop, a relation of the emperor Adrian (117-138). He carefully translated the whole Old Testament (only the canonical portions) from Hebrew to Greek. His translations are characterised by their literalness and mainly accepted for their 'fidelity' value.

There are indications that Aquila was working over a second translation where he wanted to correct the defects of his previous translations.

Symachus also translated the holy writings using the translations of Aquila.

His translations were more or less free, as he strove after the perfection of the target language. He was interested more in the rendering of the thought content. In the second century Theodotion also translated the holy Scriptures into Greek.

It is believed that Theodotion's translations were more or less corrections of the Septuagint translation of the Bible. It was Origen who first tried to study these translations in a perspective. Origen in the third century collected all these translations and examined them in collation with the Septuagint translation and the Hebrew texts in his Hexapla. He enumerated the six phases of translation of the holy scriptures in Greek. He also pointed out the differences between the Hebrew original and the Septuagint. He is the first historian and theoretician of translation in the ancient world.

To bring out clearly the hidden thoughts
 In the depths of inscrutable books
 Of the expositions of the wisest of the wise Vasily.
 Commanded me, an ignorant one
 To make a change in the verbal form
 Keeping the accuracy of their thoughts intact.
 Them as a diligent bee from all flowers of Scripture
 He gathered in his sagacious breasts
 Like some honeycomb
 And poured them like sweet honey
 From his lips before the Boyars
 To enlighten their thoughts
 Appearing before them a new Ptolemy
 Not for the faith, more for his desire
 And for the valuable collection
 Of all divine books
 With which even his palace he filled
 And he created immortal memory."

These admirable words hint to the existence of a large-scale translation and copyists' cell amongst the archival and bibliographic workers of Simeon.

Simeon had a direct day to day supervision over these translation activities. In some cases he himself wrote the introduction of the translated book.

For example another compilation-translation, famous under the name ZLATOSTRUI, is supposed to be directly translated by Simeon himself. The name ZLATOSTRUI has been formed in analogy of the Greek word Khrisostom (Golden lip) as it contained translations of excerpts from the Greek theologian Ioan Khrisostom. (Zlatostrui means Golden jet).

In the introduction, Simeon speaks as a third person and describes the reason for translating a book containing excerpts relating to spiritual and religious dogma and to the power of the feudals and kings. Thus, the introduction explains the reason for the name 'Zlatostrui' or Golden jet and the reason

for the compilative (*Sbornik*) character of the book. The introduction says :

"From the day the God-believing Czar Simeon learnt through all the old and new books, the inner and outer meaning of the holy writing, the conduct and deportment of all the teachers, the wisdom of the whole knowledge of the blessed Ioan Khrisostom (Golden lip), he became wonder struck at his oratorial art and at the divine gift of the holy ghost.

And since he was used to read all his books he choose all words from his works and arranged them in a book which he called *Zlatostruj* (the golden jet). And since the name "Golden jet" was given to others, we also are not deluding ourselves when we name this book "Golden jet". Because the teachings of the holy ghost through the sweet speech of man washes like saving balm all the sins and takes us near to the God."

Simeon also tells the necessity of this compilation instead of the complete translation. The semi-illiterate reader's interest should not flag. That's why the smallness of the volume. And only those portions were translated which the author liked and thought will be of interest and due use to the Bulgarians.

"For greater success and inspiration to the multitude, and so that those who while reading a complete collection be not tired or drag idly we selected few out of many and only those which we liked."

With the name of Simeon is connected two other compilations and some letters. Of all of them the most outstandingly important is the so called *Svetoslav* compilation (*Svetoslavov sbornik*). This consists of translations from Greek of 383 articles or essays by 25 Byzantine authors. This was taken to Russia and copies made by the Kiev Russian Kniaz (prince) *Svetoslav** *Iaroslavich*. That's why this compilation is known to posterity by the name of this Russian prince.

*In modern Russian *Sviatoslav*.

Most of these essays are theological but also contain excerpts from logic, ethics, grammar, rhetorics. Amongst these, the translation of an essay about the figures, written by the Greek author Georgi Khirovsk, may lead to many conclusions about Bulgarian translation and translators. The Bulgarian intellectuals were conscious of language and style. The problem of language and style was mostly felt by the translators as they were really interested in formalisations about the artistic and written language with specific styles, in the meaning of elliptical sentences because they were the people who ran the risk of being confronted with difficulty later if they were ignorant of these problems. The same necessity as well as the need of elevating the general level of literacy of the people were probably the reason of translation of the figures (a treatise on rhetorics and prosody).

During this translation, the translator was confronted by the problem of technical terminology. Please note that Bulgarian translators like the other translators of the antiquities when translating technical terms liked more the explanatory, definitional translations of foreign terms or loan translation.

In other cases, they used existing native Bulgarian words for the borrowed concepts thus producing loan shifts or blends.* They did not like borrowing the terms phonetically in toto.

Through these translations Greek idioms and phrases and sentences came to stay in Bulgarian and thus became part of the pan-European cultural and translational stock in the South Slavic and East Slavic languages. We will see afterwards that the Russians later on greatly profited from these translated idioms, Christian and grammatical terminologies. Below we shall give some of the terms used in Svetoslav compilation :

GREEK

PERIFRAZA

BULGARIAN. (Modern form)

KRUGOSLOVIE (Round wording)

For loan translations and loan blends see the chapter on 'cultural borrowing' in 'Language' by Leonard Bloomfield. Such an example of Loan shift is the word 'Bog' meaning God in Christian Slavic Countries but originally it meant something like Indian 'Deva'.

METAFORA	PREVOD (Transfer)
ALEGORIA	INOSLOVIE (Other wording)
KHIPERBATON	PREKHVURLIANE (Throwing from one place to another)
ANTAPODOZA	OTDAVANE (Giving away)
ELLIPSE	PROPUSHTANE (Omission)
ONOMATOPEIA	IMENOTVORSTVO (Name forming)
ANTONOMAZIЯ	IMENOZAMIANA (Name substitution)
PEPIMENON	SUTVORENIE (Creation)
PLEONAZM	IZOBILIE (Excess, plenty)
ANASTROFA	VUZVRAT (Return, Reversal)
IRONIA	PORUGANIE (Reproach, irony)
HYPERBOL	PREUVELECHENIE (Excess, increasing)
ALLUSIA	ZAGATVANE (Guessing)
ANTIFRAZA	VUZPETOSLOVIE (Antiword)
PARADIGMA	PRIMER (Example)
PROZOPOPEIA	OLITSETVORENIE (Impersona- tion)
PARABOLA	PRITCHA (Legend)

Thus the Bulgarian translators enriched their language with neologisms. Unconsciously or consciously they were doing also the morphological analysis of the Greek and Bulgarian languages and were finding their semantic and morphological contrasts.

Of the Preslav School of writers and translators we shall here describe the translation activities of Konstantin Preslavski—the bishop, the junior Presbyter Ioan and Grigorii. The name of the Tudor Doksov son of DUKS, the brother of Prince Boris, is known as a copy writer who copied the 'Word' (*Slovo*) of Athanasius of Alexandria against Arian heretics translated into old Bulgarian by Episcop Konstantin of Preslav. This copyist in introduction testifies to the translational and literary activities of Simeon himself and Konstantin of Preslav. He refers also to the exact date of the baptism of Bulgaria by Prince Boris as quoted below :

"These divine books named Athanasius have been translated under the order of our Bulgarian prince called Simeon from Greek into Slavonic by Episcop (Bishop) Konstantin, student of Methodius—archbishop of Moravia, in the year 6414 (906 A.D.) after the creation of earth, indict 10. Under the order of the same prince these were copied by monk Tudor Doksov at the estuary of the river Ticha in the year 6415 (907 A.D.), indict 14, where the holy New Golden Church has been built by the prince. The same year on 2nd May Saturday evening, servant of God, Father of this prince, living in pure faith and orthodox belief of our Lord Jesus Christ has been laid to rest. This was the Great honourable and right believing Lord of us, the Bulgarian prince by name Boris, whose Christian name had been Michael. This Boris baptised the Bulgarians in the year of 'Etkh Bekhti (the year of the Dog)".

Presbyter Grigorii translated a part of the Bible, the so-called 8th book (The five books of Moses, the book Jesus Navin, Judges and Ruth). He writes in the preface "Books of the divine Old Testament, illustrious figures from the New Testament, as well as the Ruth have been translated from Greek into Slavic during the time of the Bulgarian Prince Simeon—son of Boris, by Presbyter and Monk Grigorii, Cleric of all the Bulgarian Churches, under the order of the bibliophile Prince Simeon, rightly called the Theophil (God-Loving)".

The Bulgarian translators did most of their translations with a diffidence. They knew well the difficulties that beset a translator, and always tried to give different excuses for undertaking the translations. These excuses were often put forth in the preface or postscript to translations. The age-old inferiority complex of the translators are often echoed in these prefaces. Incidentally they also show that to a certain extent the Bulgarians were aware of the real nature of the problem of translation. These confessions or apologies are found in the writings of Presbyter Ioan, Konstantin of Preslav and ably summed and lucidly exposed in the writing of the theoretician and prince of Bulgarian translators, Ioan Ekzarkh.

Presbyter Ioan, on the other hand, concentrated on the lives of saints. He translated the hagiographic literature written in Greek. His aim was to place before the rude nation the high ideals of pure Christians and martyrs. In the postscript, he writes;

"I, the sinner, as I finished this work on the life of our blessed father Antonius by Athanasius the Great, would like to converse a little with the listeners and the readers of the life and to pray for forgiveness if I would have composed incorrectly or inelegantly any word translating literally. Because we did not find it convenient to translate all the Hellenic words into the Slavic language. And that is not also possible, but we endeavoured to transmit the meaning of them. And neither did we give much for our intelligence nor did we ourselves get engaged with such a great endeavour, but we had been compelled by Ioan the builder of Church in the Bulgarian Land. And we were commanded to translate not only the life of Antonius the Great but also the life of most wondrous Pancratius, Peter's disciple, since it was not translated before us. As we thought over it, we decided to overcome our crudeness so that the Slavic people should not remain in ignorance of the blissful life of these Great Wondermakers."

Upto now we have described the Bulgarian translators a bit anachronistically. These translators in experience and deeds are junior to the two great translators Episcop Konstantin of Preslav and Ioan Ekzarkh.

Konstantin of Preslav and Ioan Ekzarkh must have been direct disciples or coworkers of Kliment of Ohrid, Naum and Angelarii. Duksov of course writes that Konstantin was a disciple of Methodius, brother of Cyril, archbishop in Moravia. Ioan Ekzarkh was a student of the famous Magna Ur School whose product was Cyril the Philosopher himself. The tradition of Cyril and Methodius was a living force with which they were nourished. They were nourished also by the great upsurge of a free young nation which under the able soldier, statesman and educationist Simeon, was passing through a stupendous amount of creative activity. Like England under

the Elizabethans, the Bulgarians realised for the first time the might and freshness of their national spirit freely taking from the Greeks but making all these their own by the genius of their ethnic soul. This upsurge, enthusiasm, the rhapsodic spirit, all this has been completely felt and understood by the two great authors Konstantin of Preslav and Ioan Ekzarkh. It is really they who first wrote original literature with a fresh and unencumbered style, with liveliness and cheerfulness. All of their writings are imbued with a brightness, a happy optimism about the young newly arisen nation under the leadership of a smiling and magnificant, strict and erudite Prince Simeon. They felt that under this Czar, nothing is impossible to achieve for the Bulgarians, all doors of the future are open to them pointing to an infinite vista of gilded future. In this climate Konstantin of Preslav grew up and he became one of the finest writers of old Bulgarian literature. To his pen is ascribed two oldest poems the 'Alphabet prayer' and the 'Proglas'. Of course there are many scholars who think that the real author of these two poems is Cyril himself. Anyway, there are evidences which prove that at least the 'Alphabet prayer' came out of the pen of Konstantin of Preslav, the first Bulgarian bishop. The poem 'Alphabet prayer' (AZBUCHNA MOLITVA) was a sort of an introductory chapter of the 'expository evangelie' (UCHITELNO EVANGELIE) translated by Konstantin from Greek. This poem and Proglas are masterpieces in Bulgarian literature containing harmonious blending of logical polemics and divine inspiration into a superbly poetic lyricism. Here the patriotism of the poet, his identity with the Slavic nation, the great responsibility that he was shouldering all this have been vividly related.

He prays

"I pray to God with these words
O God of all creatures and creator
Of visible and invisible things
O Lord—Spirit—Send
That in my heart the burning Word
Which will be for the welfare of all be
Living under your Command.
I know, your law is the lamp of life (that)

Throws light in the way of them
Who pursue the evangelical Word
And pray for gifts divine
Today the Slavic nation also runs head-long.

* * *

Now give me Word plentiful
Oh father, son and the holiest spirit.

* * *

Save me from the wrath Pharaonic
Give me the thought, intellect of cherubims
O honoured holiest trinity
Mould my sorrow into mirth
So that I began wisely to describe
The gloriously wise your wonders
As I receive the strength of six-winged ones
And now I walk along the treads of the teacher(s)
Following (their) work and deeds".

The 'Progläs' *to the evangelie is also full of similar ideal. Moreover it defends the teaching of the faith in one's mother tongue. The writer invokes the whole Slavonic Nation to hear the Word that comes from God. The bookless spirit of man is dead as it hinders the soul to understand the wonder of the God's creation and the holy laws of life. And when people with their unilluminated mind hears the God's word in a strange language he hears only the voice of a bronze bell. The writer agrees with Paul when he said, "I prefer to say only five words and all others to understand than to pronounce thousand words incomprehensible."

There is another reason for literacy in the nation. Even when the seed of right faith has been sown on the soil of the soul it should be watered and nourished by the rain of the alphabets. And

"Naked are nations without books
Helpless in battle without arms
With adversary of our souls

*Proglas may be translated as Prologue

And are ready for imprisonment
In eternal damnation.
And you people who do not love your enemy
And think of fighting much with him
Diligently open the doors of your intellect
As now you have in your hand the firm weapon
Which forges books divine."

Such a writer with all the erudition and knowledge of Greek religious literature will be ready to translate quickly the things which will be needed immediately. The sensitivity to literature and its knowledge helped Konstantin in this happy Selection. Thus Konstantin was not a mere copyist but a conscious literary worker. The 'Uchitelno evangelie' is a proud testimony of this adaptive prowess of the old Bulgarian translator. It is true that the Bulgarian reader at that time did require original religious literature but he needed more explanations and interpretations of inscrutable passages. What he required was the basic tenets of the new and still recently unknown religion in a very simple and lucid language. The language and style of the 'Beseda' (conversation or short talk) is best for this purpose and Konstantin was master of it. The new religion was to be kept pure from the spurious heresies that were trying to submerge the official doctrine. Therefore Konstantin of Preslav translated "the four dirithymbs of Athanasius of Alexandria against the Arianists". The famous translation "Uchitelno Evangelie" done by Konstantin of Preslav was also destined for such exposition of the more difficult portions of the religious literature.

For the venture Konstantin was inspired by the great monk Naum, disciple of Cyril and Methodius, and also by his own sense of responsibility as a religious leader. This evangelic consists of about 51 talks or lectures (Beseda) on individual elucidations of the evangelic texts by the Byzantine writer and theologian Ioan Khrisostom (Zlatoust). As told earlier it contained original thinking of Konstantin of Preslav in the introduction. "The purpose of the "Uchitelno evangelie" was to introduce deep into the consciousness of the readers the basic dogmas of the Christian faith and morals, to inspire them to

deny the still living pagan traditions, to suggest slyly that the readers should fulfill the Church rituals and obey their masters in other words, to consolidate the already formed Christian—feudal ideology."—This is what a modern historian writes.

The 'preface' to the 'Uchitelno Evangelie' contains the reasons of starting with its translation. Konstantin writes :

"It is quite fit always to begin with the God—Grigori the theologian said. And let us learn the God's laws day and night—as the Prophet told (Jes. Navin Chap I, p. 8); and let us distribute the God's words to the willing hearts and I did not hide your kindness and your truth from the many congregations (Psal - Chap XXXIX. p. 11) and "I shall announce your name to my brothers and shall praise you in the Church." (Psal. Chap XXI p. 23).

For this also I, the modest Konstantin, as was convinced of this from your requests, O brother Naum, and from the commands mentioned below, stooped down before your piety. And all of you, my brothers, fathers and sons, who wants to learn don't follow me, striving for it, but try to enjoy as you make ready to hear.

As I do not have something my own, I follow that one who gifts fruit to the barren ones and inspires dumbs to speak. And this is seen also in the following. As far as I know, even the ass of Valaam sometimes spoke out in a human voice (Chap XXII, p. 28-30) and that from dry stone streamed water for the thirsty people (Exodus, Chap XVII, p. 2-6). In all these the God's deeds are only magnified.

Therefore even I, the modest one, prompted and commended as I was, deciding to translate the interpretations of the holy evangelie from Greek to Slavic, saw words standing higher than my comprehension and competence. I was terrified and I trembled. But as I feared more the future death due to non-compliance, therefore not being able to write everything started only with the Sunday Sermons (of the evangelie). As I beg for prayer of all Chirst-lovers for the success, let the God of all of us Jesus Christ make me worthy to complete, to the end, my promise....."



IVAN EKZARKH AS A TRANSLATOR AND HIS TIME

*Sages seeking in their hearts with wisdom found out
the bond of the existent in the nonexistent.*

Rigveda

The great Bulgarian translator and writer Ioan Ekzarkh had a sensitive and prolific pen. In some cases his writings attained rare lyrical heights. Ioan felt most the upsurge of the Bulgarian nation under Simeon. His Prologue to the translation Shestodnev (Six days) is a dazzling testimony to this newly acquired national pride, to this eagerness for the splendid future where all things are possible. Here is the soaring spirit which feels the mastery over this world and here are thanks given to a king who unlocked the doors of that beautiful world. He proclaims :

"Thus are you, my lord, glorious Czar, Oh Simeon the Christ—Lover. You do not cease to search his commands and his creations, wishing to adorn and glorify with them. People who are fed by divine thought are lucky, they are inspired to wonder at God and his creations and as well glorify them before others. For these kinds of people 'their feathers will grow like those of an eagle, it will fly and will not ache'. As happiness does not know any sorrow but gives wings. And how will they not be merry when they find and understand for whom is adorned the sky by the Sun and the stars, for whom the earth blossoms with gardens, vegetation, flowers and is beautified with forests, for whom is the sea and the river and all the waters full of fish and for whom is the heaven ready and this empire itself. And when they will understand, not for someone else but for them themselves then how will they not be happy and be merry in sweet reverie. They would also remember, whose image are they themselves, what is their post, and for what are they destined ?"

Then Ioan compares the method of creation by God and that by mankind :

"As God creates earth not like people who builds or makes ships, nor like the coppersmiths or like the goldsmiths, weavers or skinners, or like some iron-smiths who collect different things and make whole objects which they need but the vessels, cutters or adges they borrow from each other. God does not need any thing but man's arts need this thing or that thing."

I have a strong impression that probably by this passage Ioan prepares the grounds for putting forth the theory that no culture can really be independently created. All cultures have been excited and nourished by loans from other culture. He undoubtedly tries to show that even though Bulgarian culture and literacy starts with borrowing from the Greeks, the Bulgarians should not be ashamed because no culture in earth can be called autochthonous. In this regard he is completely in agreement with monk Khrabru who propounded the famous division of labour amongst the nationalities. This may be suspected when Ioan Ekzarkh tells later in the same prologue the following things :

"And these six essays, my Lord, I did not create independently but exactly with the same words from the 'sixdays' of St. Vasily in one essay while for the others his thoughts were taken. Similarly with Ioan, and other things from other authors whatever (even a little) we read earlier.

Thus we take down this, like that man who was visited by the Lord and for whom the ruler desired to build a palace. But as he did not have anything with which to build, he would have asked from him for some marble, from others the bricks, thus he would have built the walls, and the floor he would have covered with marble. And when he would have started to cover it then if there were no good material in harmony he would have cut the forest and from it he would have made plank-roofs which again he would have covered with straw and the doors and fences he would have smeared with mud. Similar

is the man in our case having nothing in his house. Similarly poor is our intelligence. And since there is nothing in his own house, these words are made with foreign ones. He added also something from his poor house though his own words are like the straw and wood material. But if the Lord, who Commands, love him he will accept 'all these as his own work'."

What Ioan Ekzarkh points here is the complete feeling of assimilation of the translated literature in Bulgarian.

Ioan Ekzarkh apart from his religious ideology was oriented towards a rationalistic attitude about the world. Probably in the building up of a fresh national consciousness unencumbered by a Jewish—Semitic mysticism such rationalistic approach was a logical necessity and in this respect Ioan Ekzarkh a Bulgarian was more Greek, more pagan than his contemporary Greeks. He was lyrical but he was no mystic. It is true that he was a believer of the anthropocentric system of the world. He was an idealist but it is also true that in this respect by spirit he was nearer to Aristotle and Plato than the religious writers of Byzantium period. This explains his predilections towards texts containing scientific, logical, psephological and philosophical matter. *Nebesa* (The heavens) and *Shestodnev* (The Sixday) which are translations—compilations indicate this predilection. Both of these two works deals with Greek Science though poorer and reduced due to medieval Christian editing. *Nebesa* deals with the Christian cosmogony, its genesis, the origin of the primary elements, their description and the consequent creation of animal and plant word from them.

Neither the physiology of man was out of bounds of the investigation of Ioan Ekzarkh. For him man is a microcosm. He truthfully says, "therefore man is nothing but a small world."

The medieval Bulgarian writer starts mostly from Aristotelean and Platonic conception of language, thought and reason. His belief in reason or ratio is more Greek than Christian. In *Nebesa* (Heavens) he writes : "The spirit force is divided into rational and non-rational (in todays terminology 'instinctive'). Even the non-rational part has two sides : One part does not

accept the authority of rationality, in other words, of thinking whereas the other part is obedient to ratio." The vital body functions belong to the first group whereas the passions like desire and anger are amenable to the control of reason and thinking. Ekzarkh sang the glory of a liberating reason as the only tool for knowing this world. No mystery therefore is unsolvable by man, the possessor of such a sharp tool. And this is of course is the fundamental hypothesis which is the basis of free scientific spirit. Mind and reason are the two closely connected expressions of the spirit. Mind "like some truth loving and like an impersonal and firm judge or simply said like a king sitting on the high throne, swiftly picks up all that is heard, all that is seen by the eye. Through the incoming passage (nerves) he understands and differentiates the nature of each object, so that if it is better and useful, it accepts it carefully...Again when it was not of useful requirement it is at once eliminated like some thing useless and (Mind) discards it from its acceptance.....

Mind when it raises itself high from its own level i.e. by its activity, climbs heights higher than the skies, sees and observes the good products of reason. This of course occurs in different degrees depending upon the degree of its purity, at which it no longer seeks the help of the sense organs, but shirks away from them, and tries to catch hold of the sense-data from the environment and to communicate to us the objects before us. And they (the senses) serve the mind like slave girls and send it (information) in accordance with their characteristic order and strength for good selection or for avoiding...

Mind and reason (Ratio) are like two brothers dividing the patrimony of thought products. Even if quality of knowing (Discriminatory knowledge) and naming of things is a quality of the rational spirit it is not self sufficient in itself, neither it is entirely dependent upon itself, but takes and enriches itself from the outside and in respect to the accepted objects gave those, which is marked by the senses or by the memory that exists before the eyes or which is sketched or drawn by the verbal-energy with words—whether its a man, or a horse or an ox, or some other inanimate thing like fire or stone. And it will only in-

dicate in public the things named according to their characteristic and say : Man or horse or something else when perceived by means of the sense or memory and thus either synthesis and analysis occurs giving rise to discriminatory knowing and naming. This is what happens when objects are perceived.

...For that the philosopher Plato told, "Reason or Ratio is the internal thinking of the soul itself which develops the seeking and reasoning spiritual force, and that which comes out of it through voice, through the lips, is the Word."

Ioan, for his translations, used the literature of the best writers of the Byzantine Greek period. One of them was Ioan-Damaskin who told the last word of the Christian dogmatism in the so called period of "Golden Century of Christian theological literature." His works are divided into three volumes : philosophical chapters (or also called dialectics), on the heresies, and theology. Ioan Ekzarkh translated the 48 Chapters out of 100 of the third volume. The other authors who were translated by Ioan Ekzarkh are Vasilius Magnus, Ioan Khrisostom, Severian of Gaval, and the pagan Greek Philosopher Aristotle. Vasilius was a much translated author in Slavic literature. Ioan translated his *Shestodnev* (Sixdays). The writings of Khrisostom are on the ethical aspects of the Christian man. His works were also very much well known in the Slavic countries. Severian of Gaval was a man of vast erudition, a contemporary and even a friend of Ioan Khrisostom. In his interpretation of the Scriptures he was most logical and his arguments were always sharp. Master of dialectics and oratory he tried to interpret the genesis of Cosmos as told in the Bible from a point of view of natural Philosophy. Ekzarkh surely found a kindred soul in Severian.

The last part of the '*Shestodnev*' by Ekzarkh has been based on the writings of the Greek philosopher and Scientist i. e. the book called "History of the animals". Ekzarkh only translates the description of the human species and that too of the supposedly nobler parts of the human body because the good Christian as he was, he thought that—through brains, the sense organs and the internal organs, the bones of the skulls,—

through all these the God's holy wisdom have found its true expression. Ioan's translation may be considered as the first book on anthropology not only in Old Slavonic but also in the whole medieval literature in the so called non-classical languages.

The Bulgarians can be proud of the fact that the literateurs of the first Bulgarian empire were directly acquainted with the pre-Christian Greek philosophy of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle even though much of it had to be filtered through the sieve of the Byzantine Christian dogmatism. Neither the Russians nor the Serbs really got in touch with the old treasures so directly. And it would not be an exaggeration also if I state that no other medieval nations in Europe before renaissance could come so close to the early Greek philosophers except the Bulgarians.

Ioan Ekzarkh when translating scientific texts preferred Bulgarian terms. He coined Bulgarian equivalents. His was a more or less free translation. As I told before, the Bulgarians liked native terms or neologisms formed by skillful exploitation of the Bulgarian word-building mechanism. They never liked in-toto borrowings. In a way this is a special characteristic of medieval translators in any nation.

In some cases Ioan had to bow down to the necessity and had to borrow the Greek term but even then in the same line he tried to give a Slavonic explanatory word which may be called a sort of translation of the foreign word. This stylistic device is often used in modern Russian where the first line gives the foreign loan word and in the next line the Russian synonym is used. This may often happen in a single sentence especially in scientific papers written in a popular style and it creates a bit of confusion to the novice Russian—English translator. Ekzarkh used loan words like Dalak, Stomach, Itron, Lovos. Thus he is writing "One part of the ear is known (i.e. named). It is called in Greek Lovos and in Slavic extremity (Kraichets)".

Ioan Ekzarkh is not only a practical translator, he is a theoretician of Bulgarian translators. He is steeped in the lore

and tradition of other translators before him. He knows that translation is one of the most difficult tasks of the world. As usual he puts forth his views on the theory and practice of Bulgarian translation in his prologue to the NEBESA (Heavens).

"Prologue composed by Presbyter Ioan, Bulgarian Ekzarkh who also translated these books.

The holy and godly man Konstantin i.e. the philosopher laboured much as he created the alphabet for Slavic books and translated selections from Evangelie and Apostles—and since as long as he lived in this black world—he translated as much as he could—and therefore he entered eternal (life) and received enlightenment as the reward to his labours. And when he died, in this world there remained the God's own Archbishop—Methodius, his brother, who translated all the 60 canonical books from Hellenic i.e. from Greek into Slavic.

And I hearing about this often wanted to translate into Slavic the expositions of the teachers, as the other 60 were already translated, as I was told, by Methodius. But when I seriously thought over it, I became afraid, that when I endeavour to translate the exposition of the teachers in my language for the use of posterity, I might distort them. Because I know the bluntness and crudeness of my intelligence and my bodily weakness and idleness. As I thought over all these I renounced the idea.

And when a few years passed, the honourable man Monk Duks, when I visited him, insisted recommending and requesting me to translate the exposition of the teachers. Reminding me he said, "what other work the priests have, except teaching? And since you have accepted this service you must fulfill it". And I located between idleness and crudity became more terrified of the idleness and the threatening of God to the prophets....."

Ioan however felt that he had obligations both to the God and to his people. Because the Lord threatened such prophets

in the following words, "As you have refused to be the leader and controller of my people, thus I will also reject you and will not be your Lord." Ekzarkh knows also that whatever enlightenment, erudition and knowledge he got, should be increased ten-fold by giving it to his countrymen. His knowledge, his understanding of the holy doctrine should not die with him but should be propagated throughout the masses for a good steward invests his master's capital for further profit. Ioan therefore undertook the work and translated the work of Presbyter Ioan Damaskin.

Ioan is afraid that his free renderings may be taken as undue deviation from the original. Evidently Ioan Ekzarkh understands the difficulty of the socalled word-for-word literal translation. He knows that there is no one-to-one correspondence between Greek and Slavic (Bulgarian) because many ideas, objects and concepts are not known in Bulgarian. Moreover the socalled literal translations does not serve any purpose as when the foreign syntax, word order, and even foreign equivalence of foreign words are kept intact, the translations become meaningless because no one really understands them. The urge to keep the sacredness and preserve the 'fidelity' really destroys the real purpose of translation i.e. the transmission of the thought content. At the same time he dislikes translating something in an indirect way by so many words and he tried always to find as much as possible the correspondence between the verbal forms of the two languages. Thus he tried to find the golden mean.

Ioan felt that this problem of translation is not a specific problem only for translation from Greek into Slavic. He felt that this is an universal problem and will be encountered in translational contact in any given pair of languages. We are now giving the words of Ioan Ekzarkh himself to support the previous conclusions. Only they are here differently couched.

"Therefore, brothers don't be scrupulous and find fault if somewhere you do not find the same word, since the same thought has been put in it. As Dionosius says, 'It is improper, nay, even mistaken, to focus all attention on the words instead on the (feelings ?) and thoughts.' And it is wrong for them, those

who want to understand the God's word only to address attention to the naked sounds and not letting the real words reach their hearings and not wanting to know what these words really mean. And how is it possible with completely equivalent (Ravnoznachni—equisignificant) words to tell everything taking into account all the objects, senseless letters and unknown words and by-passing the thought placed in them and to hear only that which makes noise in the lips and the ears ? And (at the same time) it is not appropriate to express the number four by two times two or, some thing else by many parts of the speech.

Please, you, therefore, who will read these books, pray to God for me, with your good wishes and read carefully and pardon me where you think that I have translated words wrongly. Because it is not always possible to translate exactly from the Hellenic language into another. The same is with all languages, when translated into another."

In the middle ages the endeavour to break the fetters of literal translation often entailed the punishment of being branded a heretic and this means Ioan Ekzarkh, a courageous man with a strong religious conviction, was ready to risk such a stigma.

The first Bulgarian empire was a feudal state and the political and religious philosophy it built and nourished was copied from its spiritual preceptor, the Byzantine feudal empire, the seat of the Eastern Roman empire. Therefore choice of the religious and other literature that the Bulgarians translated from Greek was conditioned by the necessity of the feudal Boyars and the Czars of Bulgaria. The original literary works, the translations, all were composed for supporting the official ideology. The Church was the originator and propagator of this ideology, was supporter was a of the feudal system and therefore and the writings of Kliment, Bishop Konstantin, Ioan Ekzarkh, Presbyter Kozma were full of expositions of this state ideology. Dimitur Angelov writes in his book 'Bogomilstvo V Bulgaria' (Bogomilism in Bulgaria—p. 50) :

"The first task of the Church was to introduce deep into the people the conviction that the world is an work of Divine

industry and it is formed in a perfect order, and every one should be enraptured by it.

Theology (or Nebesa), the work of the Byzantine theologian Ioan Damaskin was translated by Ioan Ekzarkh for this express purpose. In it, besides other problems, the problem of the creation of the earth and the arrangement of the universe as the 'most beautiful' work of God was explained. "The same aim inspired Ioan Ekzarkh again to translate the Byzantine Shestodnev, a very popular medieval work, written by theologians like Vasilius the Great and others. The task of Shestodnev, was to use the short biblical story of the 'creation' of the world, to praise God as the creator of a perfect world and perfect man and to fight all who denied this view". As I told before, in the introduction to Shestodnev Ioan Ekzarkh in a vibrant and living language describes the wonderful creation of the God who built the world as an exquisite master. This rapturous praise towards 'Creation' is not accidental. For the Bulgarian writer, expressing the interests of the reigning feudal class, the universe cannot be conceived other than as an wonderful and perfect work. Sketching the universe as a divine handicraft the Church writers of IX-X century in Bulgaria developed the thesis that this universe is also subjected to strict established order with a strict hierarchy even in the heavens with the angels, archangels and God at the head. And the world created by God and man being his image are also subjected to an established order and hierarchy. The same writers developed the theory that the secular power is in origin divine and none has the power to rise against the rule of a power or a class which has been empowered by the divine over-lord God himself. This is why all on a sudden Ioan Ekzarkh wrote a small original passage describing the wonders of Simeon's Palace in the midst of translated texts in his "Shestodnev". He presents the Czar with all his glory, the immeasurable height of the power in this earth, and administering all and sundry to obey it. Even the "Mind" the highest quality or possession of man is only characteristic of man and the "Czar." Even the difference of the rich and poor has been ordered by God otherwise how can one be rich always and another remain poor? It is also the passion, the original sin which is at the basis of the downfall, misery and drudgery of mankind-all this

the Byzantine Church and its follower Bulgarian Church raised to a state philosophy. Angelov writes in P. 54 : "The important task of the Church, preaching and writing, having the ulterior aim of consolidating a social order and nullification of all efforts of resistance against it, was to show that, the religious dogmas are true to the last instance and that they should be believed without arguments. The large number of "moral talks" by Kliment of Okhrid, Episcop Konstantin, Ioan Ekvarkh and other Bulgarian monks and spiritual workers at the end of IXth century and the beginning of the Xth century were directed to accomplish this." The same was the motivation of translations from the theological books like that of 'talks' of Anastasius of Alexandria against the "Arian" heretics, the theology of Ioan Damaskin, Shestodnev of Vasilius the Great, Katekhezis of Cyril of Jerusalem. The same was the purpose of the three theological compilations made by the order of Simeon (893-927).

The Byzantine lands and Bulgaria were for a long time inhabited by pagan Indo-Aryan tribes like Scythians, Goths, Thracians, Dacians and Illyrians. Thracia was known in ancient Greece and Rome as the country of sorcery. The latterday Slavs, another Indo-Aryan tribe settling the Russian steppes and forest lands and the Balkan Peninsula, were pagan to the core of their hearts. Even today after centuries of Christian indoctrination the mass of the people remained at heart pagan or at the most a people with a double belief, with the socalled "DVOEVRIE". Therefore one of the important function of the Medieval Church was to combat the traces of paganism. Religious literature aimed to remove from people's mind these pagan conception of the world for whom the world was not given and regulated by one Superhuman God but followed its own rule. Ioan Ekvarkh therefore writes in Shestodney, "the pagan Slavs and the evil believing people thought that the Sun was not subjected to God's will and did not execute his orders, but moved by themselves (izhe sintse munetu Soushte Samovlastno)." Another basic aim of this medieval literature (original of translated) was to combat the unofficial heretical doctrines and to strengthen the official Church dogmas. The orthodox teachings of the "trinity" and Christ as "Man-God" were attacked by the heretics. The writings of Ioan Ekvarkh

and other people discredited these heresies and Indoctrinated people about the infallibility of Church doctrines. That religious people should be quiet, peace loving, should support the existing order, should not disobey their secular and spiritual masters —all these were basic tenets and the Simeon's compilation Zlatostruj, which contains excerpts from Sermon's of the Byzantine theologian Ioan Khrisostom, advises people to bow down to their fate, to be patient, peaceful and to give "what ever due to God to God and whatever is due to the Ceaser to Ceaser."

The fundamental task of the medieval literature was to fight the heretics.

This same aim was the inspiring reason for compiling a bibliography or list of books to be read by the good Christian as well as the lists of prohibited books i.e. the socalled "apocryphas" which discusse and explain the events of Old and New Testaments with further details and in a different light and often distort the official views. These are the books which were often used by the heretics to lure the right believer away from the path of true faith. The lists were made in Byzantium and one such list or index of prohibited books first compiled in Greek was literally translated during Simeon's time containing names of 28 apocryphas of Byzantine origin which were translated or reproduced (unconscious translation) in Bulgaria within a short time.



THE TRANSLATION OF APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE AND BOGOMIL HERESY IN BULGARIA

But our poor scholars think that because we have the wireless and the aeroplane not only do we know more of history but we actually make it. No, we no more make history than the swallow makes the spring. Students and merchants brought ideas from all over the world, and since in the past people were more earnest for wisdom—they did not have the newspaper or the dull speeches of Monsieur Vincent Auriol—they understood more quickly and deeply what they heard and not what they read.

Raja Rao in the Serpent and the Rope.

The apocryphas doubted the Church doctrines, were pleasant to read because of their treatment of little known questions of the two Testaments and were popular reading material with the common masses. Introduced to the mysteries of alphabet and some literary taste with massive educational programme in Preslav Bulgaria and Macedonia common people of Bulgaria acquired a taste for reading every thing they could get hold of. Apocryphas were very popular with them. The Apocryphas were the first books forming the basic core of a heretic literature. The translation or reproduction of this heretical literature was first done by Paulician heretics who along with Syriac Monophysites were forcibly eradicated by the then Byzantine emperor Constantine Copronymus from their cities of Syria and Armenia and settled in Thracia and in many other places in the Balkan Peninsula. These Paulicians again were spiritual disciples of an earlier heretical sect of the Manicheans. It is the Paulicians who propagated the Apocryphal literature in Bulgaria and preached the socalled dualistic philosophy of the coexistence of evil and the good.

Peter of Sycily, who was an ambassador to a Paulician city, Tefrica, in Asia, wrote about them and dedicated his book to the head of the newly formed Bulgarian Church warning him of the coming infiltration of the Asiatic Paulicians into Bulgaria. Angelov says, "we must assume that Ioan Ekzarkh was well acquainted with the propoganda carried out by the Bulgarian Paulician preachers and that in his translation of 'Shestdnev' from Greek he was, along with other aims, also motivated to expose their dualstic views and to confirm that the whole universe is a completely perfect divine creation and that no evil spirit could have interfered with it".

Other heretics were the Massalians in Byzantium against whom the theologian Ivan Damaskin raised his pen (VII-VIII). The dualist heretics of Bulgaria, the famous Bogomils, translated these foreign philosophies and assimitated it completely and gave it a pure Bulgarian colour. This translated reproduced (unconscious and anonymous) and original literature were later exported for the consumption of the heretics in the West, the socalled Pataranis, Cathars and Albigensians etc. in Italy, France and to the 'Strigolnikis' and 'Judaisers' in Russia.

Most popular, well organised and purely Bulgarian in character were the Bogomils who were nourished in a specific Bulgarian soil but got their first theoretical training in the teachings of the previous heretical sects like the Monophysites, Nestorians, Massalians and Paulicians. Bogomilism was analysed and condemned in the letter of the Byzantine Patriarch and in the "beseda" of Presbyter Kozma during the reign of the Bulgarian Czar Peter (927-969). The heresy however enjoyed mass allegiance during the consolidation of feudalism in Bulgaria and when the Bulgarian feudal oppression over the peasants and artisans was nearing the breaking point. After the fall of 1st Bulgarian state the Byzantine feudals overran the country and the religious heresy of the Bogomils became really massive as a religion of protest and noncooperation against the more acrimonious oppression and exploitation by the foreign feudals.

The main tenet of the religious philosophy of the Bogomils was the socalled dualistic nature of the universe with a tinge of

gnosticism. This philosophy was inherited from the Paulicians and Massalians. The cosmogony and eschatology of the Bogomils were based on this fundamental principle. According to them the two principles of 'Good' and 'Evil' are existing from the very creation of the earth. The moderate Bogomils on the other hand believe that 'Good' and God, the incarnation of everything "Good"—is the original source. "Evil" represented by Satanil, a former angel of God, is of later origin. From the very creation of the earth a constant struggle is going on between 'Good' and 'Evil' and between God and the Devil for the mastery of this world. The struggle is dangerous and fierce because it is the devil who created the material world and the body of man. It is God who gave life and spirit to man. And to some extent, the material universe, the plants and man's body itself with its pain and passion, sorrows and miseries are still under the control of the Devil. From here comes all the tragedy and sorrow of the world. The first people who were the progeny of Devil himself were severely maltreated by Devil, a former God. And the good God, only because of the spirit of man, was eager to save the mankind. Since the creation of the world Devil was reigning upon the world and the heaven. Devil was the sovereign despot till the advent of Christ. The human race had to bear severe sufferings and committed sins. The evil angels, followers of the Devil, turned into demons and entered the body of man and shoved him towards sins and even when man died the Devil or the evil spirit could not forsake him and had to wait with the man in the grave for the future share in punishment. All the temples became the shelter of Satan. But good God at last understood all these nefarious activities of Satanil or the Devil and sent the 'Word' as Christ. Due to Devil's conspiracies Christ was crucified but that was only an apparent fact as Christ was not a physical or organic man but the 'Word' itself. Any way, Christ was able to save many people amongst whom were the Bogomils. Christ also threw Devil into the hell-fire but he was able later to escape from it and all the Kings of the earth, the Christian Saints, Theologians, the earlier Prophets, the contemporary Church dignitaries and the Boliars became Satan's servants. However the day of resurrection will again come when the Devil will be finally thrown for ever into the hell-fire,

the day of judgment will begin and the virtuous people will go near God where there will be no hunger, thirst or any other natural calamity.

The detailed description of Bogomil dualism has been given here to trace some analogies with predecessor philosophies and cults in Asia and to confirm my thesis that similar world outlook, cultural background, social setup helps in the orientation of translational contacts, in the choice of specific and favorite themes for translation.

The Bulgarian Bogomil heretics were surely the products of a specific national condition, of the reflection of the contemporary realities. At the same time the influence of preceding heretical, the cosmogonical and eschatological stories over the philosophy of Bogomils cannot be doubted. The Bulgarian Bogomils took from others plenty but created also many things anew. The dualistic outlook, we are told, was also popular in the old gnostic philosophies of I-II centuries and in the philosophies of the Manicheans, the Marcionites, the Paulicians and the Massaliens. Dualism and the coexistence of the evil and good from the very beginning and the constant fight between them is one of the basic tenets of Zoroastrianism. Even the distant Buddhism in India originated as an effort to unravel the cause of evil, sorrow, pain and death.

The religion of Zarathustra Spitama was based on a dualistic philosophy. The Zoroastrian religion believes that the great God Ahur Mazda (in Sanskrit Asura Medhasa—The great Asur God with rationality) has created the good spirit (Spanta-Mainuš) and the evil spirit (Anro-Mainuš). They both enjoy equal power and are twins joined in eternal opposition to each other. From this eternal opposition springs this creation, this is the primary cause of evolution. One Avestan hymn in praise of the Archangel Sraoša, the warrior and guard sings, "He who never enjoyed sleep since the two spirits, the beneficent and the hurtful, created (the world). He is watching the territories of the good creation and fighting day and night against the devas of Mazendaran".

Zarathustra of course carefully stated that Ahura Mazda was high above both of them. These two principles the good and bad pervade every thing in thought, word and action. The law-abiding man, by his choice of the good, helps the final victory of the good spirit over Druj and Aṇra-Mainuś (Deceit & Treacherers, and Evil spirit). He should fight strongly the whole world of the Druj and his satellites, its cult of sacrifice of living creatures and of the intoxicating drink Haoma. He should know that Ahura Mazda with his lieutenants or Archaengels the six Amesha-Spantas are always fighting the Druj or Aṇra-Mainuś with his follower the devas or the demons and their six leaders.

The Aṇra-Mainuś is the creator of the fire-emitting dragon or snake which was destroyed by Haoma, "who smote the serpent (Azhi) Dahaka which had three mouths, three heads, six eyes, a speaker of thousand vile things, which was of enormous strength, a fiendish destroyer of most enormous strength and which Aṇro-Mainuś produced in the material world for the destruction of the settlements of righteousness". The Sraośa of Avesta reminds us of the Archangel Michael. The fravašis are like the good souls and bad souls who always accompany man. Meillet, the famous philologist, sees in the gathas "old opposition of rich and poor, of war like aristocrats and peasants"—in short a similar world view as that of Bogomilism.

Similar dualistic philosophy was also prevalent in India in the 1st millennium before the Christ's birth, to some extent in Buddhistic philosophy and fully in the philosophy of Sāṅkhyā and Yoga.

The Sāṅkhyā sees the world as an interaction of Puruṣa with Prakṛti, as an involvement of Puruṣa with the naturally inert Prakṛti but active under certain conditions. In Yoga philosophy a Super Puruṣa, the absolute Iśvara has been given the supremacy over the Puruṣa and Prakṛti. The Jainas also believe in an animate and Inanimate dualistic base of the universe. The Jainas also were much preoccupied with cosmology, geography, ethnology, biology and taxonomy. All hereti-

cal religions are interested in secular sciences and this is true of Jainism or Bogomilism in Bulgaria.

The Buddhists started as heretics who protested against sacrifice, rituals and Brahmanical domination. Like Jainism, Buddhism tried to give a philosophical explanation of the origin of pain and sorrow and to devise ways of its elimination. Though the body and soul dualism is also another basic tenet of Buddhism it is only apparent as a crude conception. In the long end Buddhists tend toward a monism where all is simply a flux, a constant motion.

The popular legend about Buddha's life has produced the fanciful picture of 'Mar' as the nearest Buddhist equivalent of Christian Satan or Devil. His renunciation of his wife and the world of pleasure, his ascetism, the monastic vows of celibacy amongst the Buddhist monks, the building of huge monasteries-all of them have counterpart in the theory and practice of Christianity in Asia and Europe.

Discussing translation in Bulgaria it may seem irrelevant to deal in details with the religions and philosophies. But religious ideas in India, Iran, Greece, and that of the Hebrews have some similarity, something common which might have helped in the migration of Indian themes in Europe. Translations or reproduction (unconscious translation) of Indian literature in Europe were inspired by this common trend in the European mind. Many European scholars have stressed the role of Iran in the development of Greek philosophy. There were contacts between the Magis of Iran and the Academy of Plato and Aristotle. The Pre-Socrates along with Hesiod viewed the world as a struggle, a tension between opposites. Anaximander believes in the regulation of opposites by the universal law as the Pythagoreans believe in harmony. We may point out here that the Vedic philosophy is based on such a universal law called the gta.

In Greece Plato's dualistic philosophy developed towards monism through the intermediary idea of Logos put forth by him. But in its original purity Logos may be compared to

Avestan Vohu Manah or Armaiti. The later Christian spirit or Holy ghost may be compared with Zoroaster's Spanta-Mainuš. That is why the Greek Neoplatonists loved to think that Plato brought this concept of world-soul as a gap between the God and the World. In this context again the Indian conception of 'Vak' or speech may be greatly relevant.

The Jews were also aware of zoroastrian thought and influenced Iranian thought though the reverse is also true. For example

"Fr. spiegel tried to show that Hebrews had given to Iran not only the idea of God but also their notion of creation Ex nihilo, the part played by the number six and deluge. On the other hand Iranian dualism may bring transformation that can be observed in the Jewish religion from the exile onwards".

The Dead Sea scrolls refer to dualism. One of them give a small description of the two spirits, the holy and the evil ones. But it also foretells the destruction of this evil spirit. When it writes "But God in the mysteries of his understanding and his glorious wisdom has ordained a period for the ruin of error and in the appointed time of punishment he will destroy it forever. And then shall come out forever the truth of the world". The later zoroastrianism and its offshoot in the Sasanid period of persian history and Gnostics of Greece had many parallels. The Gnostics were pessimistic dualists because the supposition of the eternal evil, may lead its believers towards a gloomy world view. Therefore a supreme God destroying the evil forever was a logical and aesthetic necessity. Christianity in a way met this need.

Not all the later Zoroastrians were however dualists. The Madaeans were dualists. There were the monotheists and then there were the Zurvanites. The Zurvanites like the Christians believed in a God who ruled over all. Even the evil one is not excluded from his rule. Their God Zurvan says to the evil spirit "I have made Ormazd to rule over thee".

Mani was supposed to have lived probably in Western Iran around 242 B.C. in the reign of the second Sasanid King Shapur I. In Mani's dualism lay the basis of the socalled Manichean heresy. However his dualism was not exactly like that of Zoroastrianism. He was a Persian noble man but his roots were in Greek gnosticism though he couched his ideas often in Zoroastrian terminology. During the spread of Manichean and Zurvanite religions the Sasanid Kings were searching for a 'religious common' a 'Din-e-ilahi' acceptable to all. Therefore in the beginning they inspired analysis and study of all religions and philosophical principles. Shapur I imported many philosophies and sciences from India and from the West. He added these to Avesta and he examined the possibility of basing every form of academic discipline on the religion of the worshippers of Mazda. Budhhists and Brahmins were also subjects in Shapur's empire. The next Sasanid emperors took personal interest in Greek philosophy. Indian works were commissioned for translation. Both Indian and Greek learning were respected. There was also a lively commerce between Sasanid Persia and Byzantine holy Roman empire. It was during this period that Manichaeism developed and with the spread of Christianity it was considered antagonistic and proclaimed a heresy. The Nestorian Christians might have been also influenced by Zoroastrianism and Buddhism. R. C. Zachner in "the Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism" finds distinct Buddhistic overtones in Zurvanism and Manichaeism. He writes:

"For not only are the spiritual worlds of Ohrmazd and Ahriman at war with each other but the temporal and eternal orders also seem to be mutually contrasted and opposed. Ohrmazd's original creation was wholly static 'without thought, without movement, intangible' and it is only the disorderly movement that is Az sets the temporal process. the temporal process is the Buddhist's Samsara, the ebb and flow of physical life regarded by the Buddhists as being evil simply because it is impermanent, therefore void of lasting value."

The religious and philosophical ferment from 6th B. C. to about 4th A. D. in India, Persia, in the Hebrew, Egyptian

and Greek worlds created a condition for the flow of Indian themes from East to West. Along with Apocryphas of Manichean and Paulician origin, Indian themes, Indian literature like Pancatantra, Hitopadesha, Katha-Sarit-Sagara, and the Buddha legends of Jataka reached Bulgaria and other Slavonic countries like Russia, Serbia via Persia, the middle-Eastern countries and Byzantine Greece. Their route will be however investigated in other volumes. Suffice it to say, the Greek and Bulgarian translations of the Indian literature and the unconscious or conscious transformation of the Indian-themes in Slavonic soils were carried out in the ages and in an environment considerably surcharged with Dualism of the Manichaeism, Paulicians and the later Bogomils. In the selection and choice of the Indian themes the Bogomil and Manichean predilection towards such favourite concepts and legends like wickedness of female, the defection of woman to Ahriman or of Eve to the alluring embrace of the Devil, the defilement of man by woman, aversion to war and hate of oppression by the rich and feudals were decisive factors. So before going to the discussion of the apocryphal literature in Bulgarian we shall study the fate of the translations of the Indian literature or reproduction of the Indian themes in Bulgarian and other Slavonic countries.

The history of translation or reproduction of old Indian literature is a curious blend of reality and legends. But one thing is certain that the translated form of this literature varied according to the nature of the religious and political background of the country in which these translations were done. The day has come when the Indian scholars can and should study the nature of these transformations. For this he should be well acquainted with the medieval literature of Persia, Byzantine Greece, Syria, Egypt & Slavic countries. India was a country of interest from time immemorial to these countries. Alexander's life itself is a proof of this interest. The direct link between Greece and India was however damaged with the rise of Muslim Arabs and the Turks.

A legend of Eastern origin popular in 13th & 14th century Russia was the "Twelve dreams of Sakhais". This

story was brought from Persia to Byzantium and then to Bulgaria by the Bogomils. Pancatantra was translated into Pahlavi during the Sasanid rule. Then it was translated into Aramaic and Arabic. In Arabic it was called story of "Kalila and Dimna told by the Wise men Vidpai". Kalila and Dimna meant the 'Simple and the Crooked'. In 1081 Simeon the Scythian translated 'Kalila and Dimna' into Greek. It was then called 'Stefanit and Ikhnilat'. The Christianisation of these tales were complete in the Slavic countries.

The most important Indian theme in Bulgaria, Russia, Serbia is the "Life of Budha". The tale is called 'Vaarlam and Iosaph' in Bulgarian. 15th century manuscripts of this tale are preserved in the old monastery libraries in Bulgaria and Serbia (in Jugoslavia). Russian scholars are of the opinion that the first Christianised translation of this Indian tale was done in Christian Georgia. Probably it was done by Nestorian Christians or the Manicheans. It must have been translated by the Persians during the Sasanid period. The Georgian version was the source of the Greek translation. By that time, of course, the Indian Buddha was transformed to a sort of Christian saint. The names of the Indian heroes 'Ballavkar and Budasaf' changed into Greek Vaarlam and Yosafat. Some scholars assumed that this tale was rewritten in the Byzantine age by the Monk Ivan of Sava monastery. Other legends ascribe Ioan Damaskin as the most recent editor (8th century) of the tale. By eleventh century this tale became well known throughout Western Europe in Latin translation.

I feel however that the translation and rehashing of the tale must have been done by the Manicheans and later propagated in Bulgaria by the Bogomils. At least, thematic treatment of the tale, inclusion in it of the favorite Bogomil themes such as the evil power of women, the liberating effect of ascetism, all this point to a Bogomil edition of the tale in Bulgarian. In this tale women were called ironically demons and even a twelve year old boy, who, supposed to have met women for the first time, was unknowingly attracted by them. The legend of the man chased by an unicorn was an indictment against bodily and earthly pleasure. In another legend in the

same tale a man had three friends of whom the first two friends were held in high esteem where as the poorest one was treated with indifference. But when in some adversity he requested help from the two friends he was refused by them. But to his rescue rushed in the neglected friend. Vaarlam explaining this legend to 'Iosaf' derives the following moral; the first friend is the perverse wealth for which man falls and committs evil sins. And when death will come wealth can in no way help you. The second friend is the woman and children and relations who lived a little with man, but cannot help him at all. Even if they accompany him to the grave they again turn back, to take care of their own miseries and sins. The third is the non-transitory, permanent friend. His name is faith, love, peace, pity, humbleness, modesty, service, obedience, sanity, prayer, fasting etc.'

Russian, Bulgarian and Serbian scholars have investigated thoroughly the Slavification of the Indian tales. But these results of research are not yet easily accessible to us. Bulgarian Iordan Ivanov has translated 'Vaaarlam and Iosaph' from old Bulgarian into modern Bulgarian in his "Old Bulgarian legends". Amongst the Russians, Istrin, Oldenburg, Bulgakov, Rytsenko and the famous Byzantianologist and historian Veselovsky wrote many papers and books which are real treasures for the students of Indian literature and comparative literature. In 1934 I.U. Krachevsky produced the first complete translation of "Kalila and Dimna" in modern Russian from Arabic. For studying these scholars the serious student cannot move a single step without the knowledge of Russian.

The Indian literary matters in Old Russian, Bulgarian and Serbian did not furnish merely "pleasant reading" to the people of these countries. Of course it is true that all successful literature's first and primeaval aim is to please the common people. But the Indian themes surpassed this primary aim in that they succeeded to instill in the popular masses culture and literary sensitivity. Besides, through the parables the abstruse and philosophical, religious and political thoughts, conceptions and morals could be lucidly and easily expressed. The language, style and content of these Indian tales influenced in

many ways the tales, legends and folklore of the Slavic countries.

Many parts of the apocryphas point to an Iranian origin. However most of them have been completely developed by the Manicheans, Paulicians in the Byzantine period. For example the apocrypha 'The vision of Isai' arose in Byzantine Greece about I-II century and was written in Greek. The Old Bulgarian scholars think that the Latin version 'Visio Isaiae', much used by the Western Bogomils, must have been translated from old Bulgarian.

Another Apocrypha "the childhood of Jesus", probably, was first created in Syria in the IIInd century. This apocrypha is found in Aramaic, Greek, Latin and other Slavonic languages.

Even orthodox spiritualists like Gregory Theologos and Gregory Deuterologos, Severian of Gaval have been supposed to have written apocryphas. These orthodox writers, and even Jeremiah in turn were pointed out according to tradition as the writer of the apocryphas.

The Latin version of the apocrypha 'Razumnik' is known to be included in a VII century Latin manuscript. However according the Nakhtigal the Old Slavonic texts were translated from a Greek source. The apocrypha is known to exist also in German, French, Danish, Swedish and Czech. In the Western version it is called Lucidarius.

The language of translation of the apocrypha in Bulgaria is lucid, easy, interesting and nearer to the language of the common people. Stylistically it reflects the Greek flavour less than the translated literature of the official Church people. This is due to the popular support of the apocryphal literature. Either the translators or reproducers were men of the people or the original translations were changed gradually during their propagation to assume a popular character. This literature with a blend of phantasy and pseudoscience (in modern perspective of course) whetted the appetite of the Bulgarian for more knowledge, satisfied his curiosity and explained to him such problems about

which the Medieval Church was either silent or indifferent. Apocryphal literature and Bogomilism raised the literary and cultural level of medieval Bulgaria.

Another contribution of the Bulgarian Bogomils was their guiding role in the development of western heresies. Their dualistic philosophy was accepted by the Patarenis in Bosna, in Italy amongst the Cathars and Albigensians in Italy and France. They organised the first protest against Catholic Church and prepared the soil for the religious movement of Reformation. It was at this age that many original Bogomil literary works like "The secret book" were translated into Latin by the western heretics. The Cathar 'book of ritual' must have also as its prototype a Bulgarian Bogomil book.

We shall describe now the romantic tales that were translated in Bulgaria during the 1st Bulgarian empire. Of them the story of "Vaarlam and Josaph" have been already treated before. The most interesting story that was translated is the "Alexandria", the romantic tale of the life, adventures and death of Alexander. This was surely written by some follower of the Ptolemy dynasty who was also an Egyptian patriot. The striving of the author to show the Egyptian origin of Alexander was inspired by the glorification of the hoary civilisation of Egypt. From history we know also that Alexander himself, for various reasons, liked to get his name connected with the old dynasties of Egypt. The syncretistic Egypt of Ptolemy dynasty and the patriotic Egyptians themselves had personal interest in the propagation of this tale. In the latter Byzantine period Christian elements began to infiltrate into the legend. In Latin versions Alexander became a sort of representative of the knightly Europe fighting the infidels. [The Bulgarian version has got elements of Bogomil propaganda as in the legend of the "Island of the blissful ones" or the "story of the Rakhmanins or Brahmins".]

The Greek legend in the following centuries was transformed into two forms, the 1st one was full of more Egyptian patriotism and the 2nd one was highly Christianised. Both these two editions were translated into Bulgarian. Simeon's

Bulgaria surely liked Alexander and Alexander's small Greece fighting the great Persia must have reminded the Bulgarians the parallel of confrontation between Bulgaria and the vast Byzantine empire.

Other tales of Byzantine origin which were translated or reproduced are the tales of Akir the wise, Solomon and his wife, the legend of the Saint George. The legend of the St. George was composed in the Byzantine soil. In Bulgaria it became often translated and edited to such an extent that elements of Bulgarian patriotism are clearly visible in it. Another such legend is the "Miracle with the Bulgarian". Other Greek works that were translated in Bulgaria in XI and XII century are the scientific treatise "physiology" and the geographical tractatus "The Christian topography of Kozma, Indicopleust". The translation of these two books points to the interest of the medieval Bulgarian educated class and feudals towards popular scientific ideas. However these type of popular sciences lost the original purity of Pre-christian Greek science and geography, became pseudo-scientific, mystic, didactic and even symbolic due to Christian influence.



* Indicopleust means he who has sailed up to India.

TRANSLATION DURING THE PERIOD OF BYZANTINE DOMINATION AND THE ASSENITE RESURGENCE

*"When he came out of there he began to enslave :
Fighting started and he conquered twice the evil
Greeks"*

Bulgarian note to a Greek chronicle.

From 971 to 1187 Bulgaria was conquered by its traditional foe the Byzantine empire. However upto 1081 in the South and in Macedonia Bulgarians could preserve their political independence. From 1040 to 1187 is a period of Bulgarian history when the Bulgarian feudals and peasants were rising in revolt against the Byzantine empire. History has recorded the unsuccessful uprisings headed by Peter Delian (1040), the revolt of Georgy Voitekh in Skopie assisted by the Serbian Zhupan Zeta Mikhail. There were rebellions in the Danubian towns in (1074), in Sofia (1079) and in Plovdiv (1084).

In 1187 Bulgaria was liberated by the Assen brothers. And the first foundations of the second Bulgarian empire were laid. The youngest brother Kaloyan later were having talks with the Pope of Rome, Innocent II, for union with the Church of Rome. Bulgarians at this time were also involved in armed conflicts with the French feudals leading the IVth crusade. The contacts of Bulgaria with the Venetians, Ragusans, with the French knights became close. Later the Bulgarians fought with the Despot of Epirus.

In the battle of Klokotnitsa (1230) under the leadership of Ivan-Assen, Bulgaria gained an astounding victory over the Despot of Epirus, Todor Kominin, and the boundaries of the Bulgarian empire touched the three seas : the Black sea, Aegean and the Adriatic. The Inscription of Ivan Assen in the 'Church-

of 40 martyrs' proudly announces this victory. The capital of the Bulgarian empire became the city of Trnovo. And the whole Bulgarian Church was organised under the Bulgarian patriarchy with its seat in Trnovo.

However from 1257 to 1396 the history of the 2nd Bulgarian empire was a history of feudal and internecine wars, antifeudal peasant rebellions, invasions of Tatars and at last the massive destruction of the remnants of the second Bulgarian state and culture by the Turks.

The history of Bulgaria from 971 to 1396 influenced in somewhat the history of Bulgarian literature and culture and lastly translation, the subject of our discussion.

The Byzantine domination was a period of severe oppression over the Bulgarians. The foreign feudals and the Byzantine Church exploited the Bulgarian peasants and as a support to this policy of exploitation they started a policy of forcible assimilation and elimination of the spirit of Bulgarian nationality. As a result literary activity in Bulgarian was almost negligible. The Church highups was no more interested in a native literature. The Bulgarian literature at this period was saved from oblivion by the widespread movement of the Bogomils. With the elimination of the native feudals, the Bulgarian mass of people united with the Bogomils and the Byzantine rulers understanding the nationalistic character of the heretical movement brought about cruel measures to suppress them. Whatever literature was created or assimilated in this period was purely of popular character and the Church literary style would in time fell in disrepute. Probably character of the literary language also changed at this time leading to some far-reaching factors influencing later translations and revisions of translations during the last phase of the second Bulgarian empire.

However Church literary activity in Bulgarian especially in the Ohrid region did not die completely. There were some original works also written at this period but all of them are strictly religious. Many works were written in Greek as there

was a systematic desire to drive away Bulgarian language and to introduce Greek.

Two such works written in Greek were immediately translated into Bulgarian in this age or a bit later because of their importance for the nationalistic Bulgarians. One of them is the short biography of Kliment of Ohrid written by Dimitar Khomatian and the Life of Ivan Rilsky by Georgi Skilitsa. Both the Bulgarian translations are anonymous. Iordan Ivanov in his book 'Bulgarski starini iz Makedonia' P. 316 published the Greek original of the life of Kliment by Khomatian in collation with its Old Bulgarian translation. He remarks, "the slavonic translation contains many serious errors and there are omissions too."

Another work, the socalled historical chronology called "Bulgarian Apocryphal chronology" is not exactly translation but might have been written in Bulgarian following the Greek sources. The author oscillates between the official Church dogma and Bogomil dualism in this work and scholars point out that the work, even though of Bogomil origin, was full of nationalistic and patriotic trends as a result of severe exploitation and suppression of the Bogomils from the part of the Byzantine feudals. Robbed of their national state the Bulgarian Bogomils forgot their enmity with the old feudals of Bulgaria, felt no qualms in idealising them. The Bulgarian apocryphal legend therefore writes, "And then, in that time, when Czar Simeon reigned, he used to take tax from whole of his land for each region of his kingdom—One tow, spoonful of butter and an egg every year. That was the tax from his land and from his people and he didn't even ask anything else and there was much of plentiness during the time of this Czar Simeon".

In spirit this statement echoes the sentiments of the Avestan gatha :

"During the happy reign of Yima there was neither cold nor hot, neither decay nor death, nor malice produced by

demons. Father and son walked forth, each fifteen years old in appearance".

This Yima Kshaetha or Yima the king was later immortalised as Jamshed by the famous poet Firdaus who wrote Shah-nameh.



TRANSLATION IN THE 2ND BULGARIAN EMPIRE : HISTORICAL THEMES AND THE TRNOVO SCHOOL.

"Moscow is the third Rome and there will be no fourth."
Philotheus of Pskov monastery

During the IVth crusade Western Europe especially Italy and France came in closer contact with the Bulgarians. The Italian and French heretics, the Cathars and the Albigensians began to organise and train themselves from the example of the Bulgarian Bogomils. Bulgarian Bogomil literature in this period penetrated West in translated form. The influence of the Bulgarians upon these Western heretics was so great that for the Western Europeans the word Bulgarian and heretic was synonymous. The Bogomil bible the "Secret Book" which was originally written in old Bulgarian is available today in Latin version. There are also Russian popular versions of this book and is called "Glubinnaia Kniga". A former Cathar later turned into an Antiheretic, the Italian writer Reiner Sacconi in 1250 wrote about the Bulgarian origin of the Western heresies.

During the period of IVth crusade, when Bulgaria came in contact with the Western nations like the Italians and French, the trading republics of Venice, Genoa, the Dubrovnik—Ragusa, many Western legends and stories entered Bulgaria. Their Bulgarian versions translated & written began to be obtained in standardised forms during the 2nd Bulgarian empire. Therefore we would discuss now the main trends in translation in the 2nd Bulgarian empire.

The second Bulgarian empire gave rise to a famous literary School, the socalled Trnovo School. Trnovo School is the culmination and climax of a brilliant culture in Medieval Bulgaria after the extinction of which for five hundred years

comparative darkness in the field of culture reigned throughout Bulgaria under the Ottoman Turks.

The Trnovo School's task was to reorganise and preserve the main elements of Bulgarian culture built in the first Bulgarian state. Its other task was the continuation of the literary activity of both original and translated nature. In respect to translation the literary and spiritual leaders' attention was drawn to more recent Byzantine works as well as older works in Greek neglected by the earlier translators.

Trnovo's aim was to be the worthy descendant of the early masters from Preslav and Okhrad.

At a later stage in the 14th century the language had changed from the original written old Bulgarian. This factor and a massive education programme geared to the necessity of building a powerful state, uniform in culture, thought and religion led to the necessity of linguistic thinking regarding the nature of Bulgarian language, the reform of the alphabet, writing of grammars, revision of old translations and creation of new translations, adaptations and the creation of a new state philosophy. In this respect 2nd Bulgarian empire of the Assenites may be an interesting parallel with the much earlier Sasanid Persia. The preoccupation with heretics, occasional flirting by the state authorities with the heretics, all these are characteristic of the beginnings of the two States so distant in space and time. They had one inspiration in common—resurrection of the nation and the Sasanid kings were reviving the Persia that was under the Achaemeneans where as the Assenites were reviving the 'Golden age' of Simeon's Bulgaria. Love for the newly regained Bulgarian national spirit, a deep faith in its historical destiny, a strong under current of historicism permeated all the writings of the scholars of the Second Bulgarian empire. And this national spirit was vindicated when Kaloyan so easily crushed the "flower of Latin knighthood" (1205) when the bluest of the noble blood in the veins of the great emperor Baldwin of Flanders languished and then became still in the dark prison tower of the "Barbarian" Kaloyan in Trnovo, when in 1230 the prisoner of the great Despot

Todor Kominin in Klokotnitsa, Ivan Assen joyously wrote, "and only the cities, located around Constantinople and this city itself were ruled by the Franks. But even they were subordinated under the arm of my Czarhood, since they had no Czar except me and carried on their existence thanks to me", and when the Church of Bulgaria was proclaimed independent under a Bulgarian Patriarch with his seat in Trnovo.

This historicism flavoured the writings and translations of the Trnovo scholars. The Bulgarian Czars became the new Caesars and Trnovo the new Rome for them. That is why in the 2nd Bulgarian empire there was a spate of translation of historical works from Greek into Bulgarian.

Most popular were the socalled "Chronologies" written by the Byzantines. For example the Chronicle of Amartolas was known probably already in the beginnings of the its Bulgarian empire. It was however translated in the beginning of the 2nd Bulgarian State.

Amartolas, a Greek monk of ninth century, describes the history of Byzantium from the origin of the world to the middle of the IXth century. Amartolas's history was important as it refers to Bulgarian Khan Krum, Vladimir, Mikhail etc and also to a part of the history of Solun and Macedonia.

The other Chronicle was written by Simeon Metafrastes, Byzantine historian and hagiographer of xth century. This deals with the relationship of Byzantium and Bulgaria during Simeon's time and Greeks appear in it as cowards and effeminate, whereas Bulgarians under Simeon look like great heroes, sturdy sons of a sturdy race. No wonder it would be popular in the days that Bulgaria lost its independence. And when Bulgaria regained its independence under the dynasty of Assen, the Bulgarian part of the history was translated. There may be disputes regarding the fact whether these two historical works were translated in the end of the first Bulgarian state, during Byzantine domination or during the 2nd Bulgarian State but one thing is certain that these works became popular during the Assenites. So were popular the translations of "Physiologos" and "Christian topography".

During the period of decadence of the first Assenites there is an interesting information of a translation connected with the name of a rebel Boyar Iakob Svetoslav. He was a despot from North Western Bulgaria, who sent the Old Bulgarian translation of the Nomocanon (KORMCHIA) of Ioan Zonar to the archbishop Kiril of Kiev.

In the last years of the 2nd Bulgarian Empire a very powerful literary school arose in Trnovo which played a decisive role in the literature of the orthodox Christian Slavic countries. As the lamp brightens up suddenly before extinguishing, similarly Bulgarian culture attained the acme of its height before being engulfed by the medieval barbarism of Turkey.

The Inspirer and benefactor of the Trnovo School was the great Czar Ivan-Alexander, father of the last two Czars Ivan Shishman and Ivan Sratsimir of the 2nd Bulgarian empire. In his support and guidance to the literary activity Ivan-Alexander may be compared to Simeon of the 1st Bulgarian empire. His two sons were also lovers of Bulgarian literature and commissioned writing of many books. Sratsimir's literary circle however was more imbued with a provincial out look rather than a Pan Bulgarian spirit. The founder of the Trnovo School was Theodosius of Trnovo. Theodosius, a follower of the Isikhasts in Byzantium, founded the new monastery of Kilifarevo which became a centre of training, a school for monks and spiritual workers who later devoted themselves to literary work and religious preaching. The student of Theodosius was the greatest religious writer, translator and the last great theoretician of translation Evtimii (Euthemius) who was the Patriarch at Trnovo from 1378—1398. He lost his life in the Turkish dungeons in South Bulgaria when Trnovo fell under them. Evtimii had three great pupils—Grigorii Tsamblak, Konstantin Kostenechki and Kipirian, three great admirers of Evtimii who also continued their work. We get detailed description of the life and works of Evtimii in the writings of Grigorii Tsamblak. Grigorii worked in Byzantium, Serbia and later in Russia where he was elected the Metropolitan of Kiev (1414). Another student Konstantin Kostenechki worked in Serbia where he continued.

the orthographic reform of Evtimii. Kipirian went to Russia and was nominated as the Metropolitan of Moscow in 1398. Kipirian's contribution to the development of Russian literature cannot be neglected. Other followers of the Trnovo School continued their literary activity in Rumania.

The activities of the Trnovo School especially that of Evtimii should be viewed in the back ground of the historical changes through which Bulgaria and the whole of The Balkan Peninsula were passing through. During the Byzantine domination, during the national uprising organised by the Assenites there was a blind preoccupation with the origin and destiny of Bulgaria as a nation. The constant changes in the rulers in Byzantium, the marauding crusaderers, the conflict of the two Christian worlds and Kaloyan's endless wars brought new geopolitical thoughts in the minds of feudal Boliars of Bulgaria. The Bogomils and the peasant uprising organised by Ivailo brought people into direct contact of the problem of intricate relationship of state religion and state ideology, national spirit and national ideology. And already by 1326 the grim horsemen of the Ottoman Turks were knocking at the gates of the Balkan. Part of Macedonia was seized by the Serbian kings and later ruled by free feudals. The last great Czar Ivan-Alexander was ruling (1331—1371) at a time when the feeling of impending doom was not unknown. Therefore the circle of Ivan-Alexander must have a feeling that they were running against time and they gave a valiant fight for salvaging and if possible to save Bulgarian culture from utter destruction. Sharpened interest towards historical works could be easily explained in this background. The Byzantine chronologies of Konstantin Manasses of XII century, of Ioan Zonar of XII centruy and Simeon Logothet of X century were translated. A new translation of the Chronicle of Amartolas was also done in this period. The Chronicle of Manasses written in a poetical form acquired a great popularity. Ivan-Alexander commissioned the translation of this book in prose form in Bulgarian probably by 1340. The Vatican copy written in 1345 in Trnovo is richly decorated and full of notes which relate the history of Byzantium with that of Bulgaria.

Thus one of the notes to the history of emperor Theodosius II the small, develops the "2nd Rome or 2nd Byzantium Theory" of the Trnovo School. It says, "this happened in old Rome, but our new Czargrad (constantinople) flourishes and grows, strengthens and is becoming young. Let it grow to the right end with our Czar reigning over all, as there is such a radiant and shinning Czar, a great ruler and exemplary Victor from the root of the magnificent Ivan-Assen, the Czar of Bulgarians, that is Alexander the modest, kind and monk-lover, protector of the poor....."

Talking about the Emperor Vasilius the Bulgarian-killer the translators relate the pathetic tragedy of the last Czar Samuil of the 1st Bulgarian empire.

"This Czar Vasilius accomplished much and executed innumerable enslavements of Bulgarians and hit them with dire defeats. As he vanquished Samuil, he blinded 15000 Bulgarians and left one Bulgarian with an eye for each hundred of blinds and sent them to Samuil. When he saw them, he died of heart-break.

From this Vasilius, the Bulgarian Czardom was under Greek rule even upto Asen I, Czar of the Bulgarians."

A large number of translations and original literary works in this period points to the fact that they were written during the reign of the Czar Ivan-Alexander. Often Books were commissioned to be written by lower Officers. The Translation activity of this period was personally commissioned and supervised by Ivan-Alexander. In this Ivan-Alexander was guided by the desire to fill up the gaps that existed in the translated literature from Greek. Such are the two books "The activities of the holy apostles, and the congregation addresses and those of Paul" and the socalled "Chetvero-evangelie (the four Evangelists) in Greek called 'tetraevangelie'.

The colophon to the first work says :

"He (Ivan-Alexander), wished in the midst of all good works—to find out exactly with every passion and spiritual love

of a good God-lover also this—to be translated from Greek into Bulgarian. And in this period I was also there, a poor man still unprepared for such a work and I was obliged by this well-respected and right believing Czar and I did not show any disobedience to his divine order, and with all enthusiasm and striving and still more with immense labour I did as much as I could and translated this God-inspired book from Greek to Bulgarian. And I pray to them who will read and copy this book should complete (that) which is left incomplete due to my inefficiency if they are capable, and if not, should pray for this much sinned one and one, unworthy of obtaining the pardon for the sins from God who loves man."

The foreward to the translation of tetraevangelie said that it was translated with great labour and attention during the time of Ivan-Alexander and the younger Czar Ivan-Sratsimir. In a Colophon to a copy of the same book, copyist Monk Simeon wrote that "the Autocrat Czar Ivan-Alexander found it like a lamp put in a dark place and forgotten.....and as he wished it was translated from Greek words into our Slavonic speech". Monk Simeon adds, "just as Czar Constantine.....great amongst the holymen and his mother Elena extracted the cross from the depths of the earth similarly he—this Four-Good-Messengers (Tetraevangelic)."

The language of Monk Simeon is built of loan translations. In one sentence he may be using the Greek word in another the translation of this Greek word is used to explain the unknown Greek word. I have told earlier that this stylistic mechanism is still used for foreign technical terms in scientific literature and especially in popular science literature. For example he will say as follows, "the lady Theodora, same named with God's gift". Tetraevangelie (Tetra—four Eu—good, Angel—messenger) was translated as a CHETVEROBLA-GOVESTNIK (Four Good Messengers).



PATRIARCH EVTIMII : HIS THEORY AND PRACTICE OF TRANSLATION

'Translated, revised and edited by Indian Upādhyāyas Śākyasena and Jñanasiddhi and the great reviser Lo-tsa-ba ban-de Dharmatā-sila and others. Again by the request of the great king, translated by the Indian upādhyāya Subhāṣita and the grammarian Ratnabhadra in accordance with the commentary. Again, revised and edited by the Indian upādhyāya mahā-paṇḍita Dipamkara-Sri-Jñana and the great reviser Lo-tsa-ba bhikṣu Ratnabhadra comparing it with the commentary from the central Land.'

Colophon to a Tibetan translation

The greatest of the Bulgarian writers and translators was the Patriarch Evtimii (or Euthemius in Greek). He was a patriot, a devout Christian, a soft-speaking man who hated heresies but loved heretics and with soft words and mild persuasions he tried to bring them back into the flock of the devotees. Disciple of Theodosius, a Isikhast like the Muslim sufis, Evtimii was a philosopher, a mystic and a lover of man. A protector of his people he remained to the last of his days. His literary activities, his life was simply but poignantly described by his student Grigorii Tsamblak. He, for the first time, studied historically the translations in Bulgaria. He reviewed the translations, often revised them or produced new translations. The reasons for this orientation may be found in the following trends in the ideology of Evtimii and in the objective historical conditions in Bulgaria.

Evtimii was preoccupied with the preaching of the pure Christian dogma and he began studying them from the original sources. His later education was carried out in the monastery and rich Library of Aton and when he began to study in original the older texts of theological books and their con-

temporary copies and translations. He found plenty of mistakes, misunderstandings and deviations in these translations. The young theologist's ambition was to compare all the Bulgarian works with their Greek original and to correct them. Evtimii firmly believed that much of the cause of heretical thinking in Bulgaria was these mistakes and deviations which gave rise to a bad or halfbaked understanding of the religious principles.

He evaluated correctly also the role of older translations. Preserving all respect to the older masters he found that not only they had incomplete knowledge of the theological principles involved but also their proficiency in Greek was not adequate enough for a lucid translation. He felt that the language of these translations was cumbersome, heavy, difficult and outdated. These theoretical considerations led him to the review and revision of the older translations, to the creation of new translation where it was necessary, to the creation of an uniform orthography in the Bulgarian lands and lastly to the study of grammar and structure of Bulgarian and Greek. The importance of his work as a theoretician of translation was appreciated and realised by one of his able disciples Grigorii Tsamblak when he wrote the praise of Evtimii, Grigorii writes: "With what he was engaged? With the translation of divine books from Greek into the Bulgarian language. And nobody, hearing me telling this should think that I am deviating from the truth, since Bulgarian books are extremely old due to their long period (of creation). Since they exist from the very period of baptism of the people, and since that even this (man), great amongst the holymen, studied these books, thus reaching even upto our day."

Tsamblak says that he is aware of this fact but it is only partially true as "the first translators did not know the language and teachings of the Greeks with perfection. They served with a coarse language. The books prepared by them were divergent in speech and dissonant in thought with those of the Greek books and crude and inelegant in respect to expression. They were considered to be accurate only because they were called holy books. But many mistakes hid

in them and they disagreed with the true dogmas. Therefore many heresies came out of them. Thus destroying all the old books he like a new lawgiver gave to the Church the real knowledge—every thing new, accurate, agreeing with the Testaments, unfluctuating in the strength of their dogmas, like the divine grace in the heart of holymen, like knife to the pagans and like fire to the faces of the heretics. And along with Paul he cried aloud, "The old is gone, lo, every thing new is established." Tsamblak understands the role of Translation especially in a difficult state of affairs in which the last days of the empire were passing through. But Evtimii continued the work when there was no hope, when complete decadence of the national life set in and when the whole country was in a state of ruins, Evtimii's work and contribution deserves according to Tsamblak more praise and laurels as it was carried out in such a difficult situation. He writes :

"There appeared also men wedded to the word and to wisdom, not only referred in the Old Testament, but also men (not referred) there. And through their enthusiasm (to the word and wisdom) they succeeded to attain the divine knowledge to some extent and were devoted to the writing of the holy scriptures.. Such a person was the Egyptian Czar Ptolemy who... ordered to translate most carefully all the divine books of the old testament into Greek and for this purpose set free 12000 Jews who were slaves to the Egyptians to go back to their homes. He collected books and asked for their interpretations from the head priest of the Jews. The head priest sent people of a clan who knew their paternal law and the Greek language very well....., Thus they could accomplish much in a few days as the God's wish was supported by the King's strivings.

But in order to stop at last the lips of the shameless Jews and in order to confound the wisdom—mongering of the Elins (Greeks) many years back the holy spirit allowed to accomplish the same thing in Bulgarian. Tell me who saw the Hebrew language, the Testaments and Prophets so skillfully translated and explained in our (language), as now, when number of men who really know the canons are becoming fewer—either due to their short lives or due to the frequent enslavements and fires

that pester the people—and that too most for the cross—and when the destruction and desecration of temples and houses have reached its acme."

The above words of Tsamblak clearly show the evaluation of the great role of translation in Bulgaria. The Bulgarian translators were always conscious of the tradition and lore of the history of translation and they could also felt what was the place of a conscious translation service that the Trnovo School organised at such a period. Today we often hear such wise sayings in different translation journals, and in august conferences of translators that a translator must know the subject which he is translating, the target and source language very well. The same thing was understood by the translators of the past. It only shows that in the field of translation the maxim that "history repeats itself" or "history moves in a vicious circle" is so painfully true. Every time a new nation or a new organisation starts translation they discover these same old problems anew and stops after restating them in modern language. It seems for the last three thousand years there was no major break-through in the field of a science of translation.

Evtimii's original thinking on translation reminds us of the great humanists of 16th century. Evtimii is the Bulgarian pioneer of Laurentian Valla and Desiderius Erasmus. To illustrate the similarity of thought between Evtimii (patriarch 1375-1393) and the humanists like Valla (1449), Reuchlin (1512) and Erasmus (1505) we shall quote W. Schwartz from his paper on "the History of principles of Bible Translation in the Western world—Babel VOL. IX. No. 1-2/1963 p. 5-22". Professor Schwartz writes :

"Biblical translation is intimately connected with the religious trends and tenets of the community. Thus a change in the method of translation must be preceded by a new attitude within community. As long as the views of the 'holy doctors' were all powerful, the Church could brand the expositor or translator as a heretic and prohibit any version because it deviated from its doctrine. It follows that a new age of biblical translation began

after the authority of at least part of the tradition was undermined.

* * * * *

Yet the real opposition to traditional thought came from humanism. The humanists at first had nothing to do with religion or scholasticism. They believed that a civilised language was the foundation of every civilisation. The corruption of classical Latin brought the barbarism of the middle ages in its trail. A return to the purity of Classical Latin must needs produce a golden age of civilisation. Thus the humanists' first endeavour was to learn the grammar and style of the great Roman writers and to read their works. Soon they asserted that books that did not fulfill the stylistic requirements of humanism should not be read, a demand which amounted to the elimination of all the books written in the middle ages. Interested in the writings of the ancients as they are, they made Greek texts accessible in printed editions and Latin translations. It was a decisive step when they compared the text of the Latin vulgate with that of the Greek Bible. From the point of view of grammar and style they found the text of the vulgate wanting and in need of revision.

The first to collate the texts of the Greek and Latin Bibles was Laurentius Valla whose "In Latinam Novi Testament Interpretationem ex Collatione Greacorum Exemplarium Adanotationes," finished in 1449, was published by Erasmus in 1505. As a humanist he emphasizes that even in theology the property of every language must be observed since corrupt language cannot be understood, and as a philologist he emphasizes that in principle the original Greek text of the New Testament should be preferred to a translation. When the Greek and Latin texts differ, it is in general the Greek text that is more reliable. This was a revolutionary thought which was to be debated in the sixteenth century when it was asserted that the schismatic Greeks had purposely changed the Greek wording of the New Testament in order to prove their own religious tenets. The same argument could be applied against those who were in favour of the Hebrew Bible, for, it was argued, the Jews had falsified the text wherever it referred to Christ. ERASMUS in the prefaces to his translations of the New Testament of 1516 and 1519 drew attention to

the agreement of the biblical quotations of the Fathers of the Church with the Greek version, thus proving the accuracy of the Greek text. REUCHLIN conclusively argued that for philological reasons the Hebrew text was more authoritative than the Septuagint or the Vulgate. It is therefore obvious that the humanists drew the conclusion that one had to go back to the original Hebrew and Greek for the interpretation of the Bible and that all the medieval expositors who had relied only on the Latin text could not be depended upon. As the Latin text of the Vulgate had been corrupted by copyists, a reconstitution of the text could only be made from the originals. It follows that it is the task of the grammarian who knows Hebrew and Greek to translate Holy Scripture. With the help of the profane literature of antiquity he will be able to understand the words of the Bible better than the theologian who is ignorant of such languages. REUCHLIN, for example, remarks in a letter of October 10, 1508, "I would have you know that nobody of the Latin people has been able to give an exact explanation of the Old Testament without having first hand knowledge of the language in which it was written." And ERASMUS writes in the Preface to VALLA's ANNOTATIONES of 1505, "When Lyra (Nicolaus of LYRA, 1270-1349) who compared the Hebrew text with the Vulgate and criticizing the Latin translation of the Vulgate, discusses a form of expression, is he acting as a theologian or is he not rather acting as a grammarian? Indeed all this translating of Scripture belongs to the grammarian's part." ERASMUS agrees that theology is "the Queen of all Sciences," while grammar, although only a "hand-maid," is the indispensable foundation for the theologian. After the humanists had proved the pre-eminence of the original text, they could draw attention to mistakes in the translation, mistakes which were basic to scholastic reasoning. This undermined the claim that medieval exegesis was authoritative. They were able to do this because they had found a new method which promised a new understanding of Holy Scripture. They did not attach the traditional view with subjective reasoning which would prove nothing but offered a method which in its objectivity could gain confidence. Moreover, the same method could be used for the interpretation of profane literature and the exegesis of the Bible. It was REUCHLIN and most of

all ERASMUS of Rotterdam who were the initiators of this philological method."

The Trnovo School also felt the accelerating role of State support in a crash translation programme. We have talked about the study of the Old Bulgarian language by Euthemius and Trnovo scholars. At this time the nature of the old Bulgarian language was changing. Many elements of the Middle Bulgarian and even of Neo-Bulgarian Language were appearing. There was consequently a gap between the written language and the phonetics of the common living language. The old masals O, E and the half vowels b were gradually eliminated and the A was pronounced sometimes as e or as ia. Thus the scribes were making mistakes when writing, due to the influence of their speech. This was what led Euthemius to formulate a new uniform orthography.

The grammatical study of language also becomes important and I strongly believe that the tradition of writing grammar that was once set by Cyril when he translated the "8 parts of the Speech" from Hebrew was avidly copied by the Trnovo scholars. We know that Cyril translated a Hebrew grammar into Greek. This was soon translated into Old Bulgarian. However the later grammars were not exactly the grammar of the Hebrew language but were grammars of the Bulgarian language. The Slavic Bulgarian grammarians had in their mind an idea of a general universal grammar distilled from the Hebrew and Greek sources and this they applied for the study of the structure of Slavic language. The name itself of the grammar "8 parts of the Speech" testifies that the grammar that Cyril prepared is not exactly a translation of the Hebrew grammar but was a grammar of the Old Bulgarian based on Jewish ideas. The Jews, we know, were great theoreticians and students of languages. And the later Arabs were their students in this respect. If Cyril's grammar would have been a grammar of the Hebrew language he would have entitled it as "Three parts of the speech" because the Hebrew has only three parts of speech whereas Greek and Slavonic languages have greater number of parts of Speech. However the complete slavianisation of this grammar must have been the work of later

scholars and its latest revised forms must have been avidly copied by the Trnovo scholars. I do not think that Cyril's grammar was originally a translation of the grammar of Hebrew. Because it is not possible to think that the old Bulgarians who were learned in the Greek grammatical theory could unconsciously transform a translated grammar of Hebrew into a grammar of Bulgarian. On the other hand far more plausible is the supposition that in an attempt to write a real grammar of the Bulgarian language on the basis of a real factual language material the Bulgarian Grammarians wanted to be free of the influence of Greek grammar. The acquaintance of Hebrew grammar, a grammar of a non Indo-European language, gave them a training in writing grammar of a non-Greek Slavic language. The first translation of Jewish grammar by Cyril therefore was used by himself only as a source book on the basis of which Cyril wrote the grammar "Eight parts of the Speech". And it became again the source book for later Bulgarian Grammarians who entitled their works by the common and known name "Eight parts of the grammar." In a way this grammar tried to be a comparative-contrastive grammar of Greek and Bulgarian. We see similar tendencies in the Prakṛit Grammarians in India. Arab Grammarians also wrote such comparative and contrastive grammars of Hebrew and Arabic. Therefore it is no wonder that the Bulgarian scholars would try to evaluate their language on the contrastive background of Greek as many of them were translators from Greek and what a translator wants most is a sort of bilingual contrastive grammar and lexicon (today called confrontation linguistics). The extant copy of the "Eight parts of the grammar" is eloquent about the knowledge and extensive acquaintance of Greek grammar and Linguistic theories from the part of the Bulgarian scholars. Thus they knew about the grammatical treatise of Dionosius the Thracian. In certain cases the Bulgarian grammarian loan-translated or coined technical terminology based on the Greek prototypes. They are, for example, as follows:

<u>GREEK</u>		<u>BULGARIAN</u>
ONOMA	—	IME
RHIMA	—	RECHU

METOKHI	—	PRICHESTIE
ARDRON	—	RAZLICHIE
ANTONOMIA	—	MESTOIMENE
PROTHESIS	—	PREDLOG
EPIRRIMA	—	NARECHIE
SYNDESMOS	—	SOUZU

The Bulgarian Grammarians however discussed only four parts of Speech; IME, RECHU, PRICHASTIE, RAZLICHIE, So the name "eight parts of speech" was only a formality. Linguists have not yet fully analysed this curious old Bulgarian grammar but I believe it will give us much fact about the idea of Bulgarians about the structure of language.

The great translation activity of the Bulgarians at the end of the second Bulgarian empire gradually became a thin stream represented by minor personalities here and there. Some of the representatives of the Trnovo School transferred their activities in Serbia, Rumania, in Kiev and Moscow. One of them, Konstantin Kostenechki who later worked in Serbia translated an interesting travel diary to Jerusalem. We shall however continue about their role in the development of the respective literature in other volumes. In Bulgaria we can hear the name of only Isai Serski as a translator. The next phase of Bulgarian translation started with the Damaskinis in the XVII—XVIII century, a typical example of adaptive-translation. They were translated however in Modern Bulgarian.



THE END

History does not tell much about the organisational and hierarchical aspects of the Bulgarian translators. The monastery schools were the teachers of Bulgarian linguists, translators and scholars at a later period. The libraries and translation cells were also attached to most of the famous monasteries and Churches. For example such a monastery was the Kilifarevo monastery of Trnovo and the Pechora (Crypt) monastery of Kiev. The courts of the Bulgarian princes and Czars had a sprinkling of clerical staff called writers and stenographers (Pisets and Brzopisets). They took down the instructions of the king and oral communication of national or foreign emissaries. Some of these pisets probably knew foreign languages and were products of the monastery schools. There were other people in the court of the Princes Czars and called TLUMACH* who were good bilinguals and interpreters. In the 1st Bulgarian empire these Tlumaches must have been common man living in the bilingual regions of the state. This may be suspected by the fact that some of the Greek inscriptions written by the princes of the 1st Bulgarian empire give interesting signs of a vulgar or spoken dialectic Greek different from the literary Greek of the Byzantine scholars. Later Greek writings by the Bulgarians however conform exactly to the norms of the literary Byzantine Greek. The Czars and princes had another type of scholars in their retinue. They were called grammatics. Their duty was to compose correctly the text of princely correspondence to foreign countries according to the norms of the standard chaste language. There was always free flow between the monastery people and the King's courts.

Most of the religious translators carried out their day to day work in the calm and quietness of the monastery cells.

*The German Word 'Dolmetscher' must have been a loan from Turkish. The Turks in their turn borrowed it from Old Bulgarian TLUMACH. In polish, also, tlumac means translator.

They were supported by Kingly grants and were free from pecuniary troubles. For great translators like Ioan Ekzarkh, Bishop Konstantin and Patriarch Evtimii translation was a labour of love. Others might have undertook translation with a mixed feeling which can be guessed by any of our colleagues for whom translation is only a means of earning the livelihood.

The discussion of the medieval Bulgarian translation will remain however incomplete if the propagation of the Romantic tales from East and West in Bulgaria is not treated. From the point of view of the flow of culture in different civilisations these heroic and romantic tales are extremely important.

Increasing material culture and free time amongst the feudals and upper class Bulgarians in Trnovo whetted their appetites for literary material for amusement also. This new cultural need was satisfied by tales and legends of heroism, chivalry and romance which later on become a basis of a secular romantic modern literature. Many of these tales came from the East and some came from the West. During the IVth crusade there was constant contact between the women folk of the upper class Bulgaria and Byzantium, Greece and Ladies of Western origin were married to Bulgarian Boliars. Their share in the propagation of these tales is enormous. Deep analysis of the tales reveal political and philosophical tendencies in them but superficially they satisfied the romantic spirit of the Bulgarians. These stories were also more secular without any religious elements. These stories played a role in Russian and other Slav languages similar to the 'Battala' literature in the development of Bengali literature of 18th and 19th century. One of them, the Trojan legend was already translated in the 1st Bulgarian empire. During the 2nd Bulgarian empire the tale was full of a new content. The crusaders used this story as an allegory of fight between the decadent Byzantium and a vigorous new West. The Bulgarians too saw in the Trojans the counterparts of their contemporary Byzantine Greeks, where as the invading Greeks of Troy in vigour, healthy tribal sturdiness and in their high sense of honour could be the Bulgarians themselves. Probably they thought of Achilles the ruler of Myrmidons, as a Bulgarian hero comparable to Krum,

Simeon and Kaloyan. Other stories of Byzantine origin were the tales 'Bloodmixing' (the Greek story of Oedipus), the "Barmaid Theophana" and the tales of Aesop. The story of the 'Bulgarian Czarina Persica' (The story of beautiful step-daughter persecuted by the stepmother) must have been originated in India as we have thousands of variants of the same story in India. The Christian and Bogomil trends and morals in these stories were also predominant. During the dark days under the Turk it is these stories in oral form which really protected the genius of Bulgarian language and literature from total extinction.

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Bulgarians have started writing about translations in their country. They are however satisfied with the discussion of Bulgarian translations starting from the 19th century. In respect to the old Bulgarian translators there is a Lacuna. Here is a virgin field; I have started with the first rudiments, I have tried to put up a frame, and I believe my colleagues there will paint the complete picture more artistically, more truthfully and more colourfully. I know that Bulgaria does not lack in restorers; one Kiselkov, one Iordan Ivanov are towering examples of such inspired restorers.



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